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METAPHOR : LIBRARY

Catherine Kennedy

KNNCAT002

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Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

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Abstract

This literature review identifies and examines metaphorical concepts that have been associated with the word 'library' historically in an attempt to identify the possible role and function of libraries and librarians in the twenty-first century. Drawing on contemporary theories of metaphor, the various ways in which libraries have been represented metaphorically within literature are considered as external perspectives of the institution and profession. These images are compared and contrasted to those library metaphors evident in the professional literature – that is, internal perspectives of the library. Examples of other professions adopting the concept 'library' as a metaphor, most notably within the online environment, are also discussed in order to hone in on those concepts perceived to be represented by the label 'library' by those choosing to employ the term. The cross-cultural applicability of library metaphors is also considered, drawing on examples from African librarianship, and a cluster of metaphorical concepts likely to inform future library development are identified.

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:



Date: 31.07.2007

1. The motive for metaphor

“The motive for metaphor, shrinking from
The weight of primary noon,
The ABC of being,
The ruddy temper, the hammer
Of red and blue...”

Wallace Stevens, 'The motive for metaphor'

Metaphor has long resided in the library: there has been a considerable history of libraries both being represented metaphorically and being utilised as a metaphor (Walsh, 1987:212). Radford and Radford put forward that there is a strong tradition in Western literature to use the library as a metaphor for order and rationality (1997:254), while there have been numerous studies on the ways in which librarians have employed varied metaphors to represent the range of roles libraries can play in different organisations (Chu, 2000:274). From 'museum' to 'mirror of the universe' (Nitecki, 1979:25), 'map of knowledge', 'tree of knowledge', 'universe of knowledge' to 'world brain' (Hjorland, 2006), 'community builder, civic integrator, and community activist' (McCook, 1997), there is a plethora of complementary and contrary metaphorical concepts battling for space in the library.

But what is the significance of this sheer breadth of metaphors surrounding the library? If there is something unsettled and shifting about the way in which the library is represented metaphorically, what does this reveal, if anything, about the image of the profession, the ways in which librarians perceive the role of the library and our purpose in society, and the ways the library is perceived by outsiders? Does metaphor contribute to attracting (or deflecting) new recruits to the profession, as suggested by Nardini (2001)? Are these metaphors nothing more than insubstantial literary flourishes or is there some value in considering metaphors as revelatory expressions of perceptions of the library, worthy of study as conscious or unconscious mechanisms for criticism or catalysts for change? If so, the study of library metaphors could surely contribute to a greater understanding of how images and stereotypes of the library are manufactured, entrenched or overturned.

1.1 The theory of metaphor

Historically, metaphor has been considered to be ornamental and rhetorical in nature, primarily located in formal structured communications such as poetry, with little bearing on everyday, apparently unembellished language (Lakoff, 1992). As far back as Plato, metaphorical language, as opposed to the ostensibly literal, unambiguous language of science, was regarded at best as

incidental and decorative, at worst with suspicion by such esteemed thinkers as Locke and Hobbes, likely to be employed to undermine rationality, mislead and confuse, even 'coerce and control' (Hamilton, 2000:239-240; Day, 2000a:808). In recent years, however, this 'literal-figurative' dichotomy of language has been largely abandoned as modern linguistic theorists, on the basis of the findings of empirical studies, have increasingly come to assert that metaphor is central to abstract thought and, as such, fundamental to humankind's ability to make sense of the world (Hamilton, 2000:240).

Lakoff and Johnson offer a succinct definition of the current conception of metaphor: 'Metaphor is principally a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding' (1980:36). So, a metaphor is the application of one concept to a different conceptual domain, the linking of a less familiar idea to a more familiar idea, to reveal something new or unexpected. According to Hamilton, these linkages created through metaphor may be 'intentional, unconscious, or a mixture of both' (2000:238). In any case, metaphors are now considered to be ubiquitous, permeating everyday language as the means by which we mediate our knowledge of the world, through providing 'partial understanding of one kind of experience in terms of another kind of experience' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:214). Thus metaphor relocates experience to generate or stimulate new meaning, a function embodied in the root meanings of the word itself: 'metaphora - transport' and 'metaphorein - to carry' (Inns, 2002:325). The effectiveness of metaphor lies in the fact that this 'transportation' is incomplete and often surprising – the 'mismatch' between the two ideas or experiences contained in the metaphor is stimulating in that it highlights 'parallels not immediately apparent from a direct comparison' (Hamilton, 2000:239).

Lakoff summarises the central principles of the contemporary theory of metaphor as follows:

- 'Metaphor is the main mechanism through which we comprehend abstract concepts and perform abstract reasoning.
- Much subject matter, from the most mundane to the most abstruse scientific theories, can only be comprehended via metaphor.
- Metaphor is fundamentally conceptual, not linguistic, in nature.
- Metaphorical language is a surface manifestation of conceptual metaphor.
- Though much of our conceptual system is metaphorical, a significant part of it is non-metaphorical. Metaphorical understanding is grounded in non-metaphorical understanding.
- Metaphor allows us to understand a relatively abstract or inherently unstructured subject matter in terms of a more concrete, or at least a more highly structured subject matter' (1992).

Thus, given the centrality of metaphor to our ongoing sense-making processes, it could be argued that metaphor is reflective of our changeable conscious and subconscious perceptions of the world: 'meaning shifts around, and metaphor is the name of the process by which it does so' (Sarup, 1993:47). Furthermore, this sense-making process operates at both an individual and a collective level, drawing on environment and embedded cultural norms, thus at times resulting in metaphors specific to a certain culture at a particular period in history (Inns, 2002:324). As such, the study of metaphor can amount to an exploration of human attitudes, behaviour, experiences and interactions in time and space.

1.2. The uses of metaphor

As metaphor generally functions as a teleological mechanism in everyday life, it is unsurprising that a number of writers focus on the value of employing metaphor heuristically, particularly within the field of organisational theory. Haack, in dubbing metaphors the 'training wheels of inquiry', argues that metaphors can be utilised as a mechanism for investigation (1994:19). Akin and Palmer concur, asserting that 'the use of metaphor for diagnosis and intervention has become common for many organizational change agents' (2000:67). Weick proposes the concept of 'disciplined imagination' to describe the stimulating role metaphor can play in the early stages of theoretical development while Soyland talks of metaphor in terms of striking a 'promissory note' whereby metaphor can be 'used to signal and open up a new research direction' (cited in Cornelissen, 2005:752-3).

Geographer Roger M. Downs and literary critic Clive Staples Lewis both classified metaphor as either metaphors for teaching – described by Downs as 'decorative' and Lewis as 'master' metaphors – or metaphors for learning – 'generative' or 'pupil' metaphors (cited in McInnis, 1984:110-1). This classification points to the role metaphors can play in formal education as an effective and memorable teaching and learning tool, an idea that is supported repeatedly by other researchers (Inns, 2000:315) and certainly is worthy of consideration, both in terms of the training of library and information science (LIS) professionals and the provision of information literacy and research skills training within the library context.

Inns, in proposing a taxonomy of the uses of metaphor in the literature of organisational analysis, offers a useful summary of the various ways in which metaphor can be applied. In line with ideas put forward above, she discusses the uses of metaphor as 'a generative tool for creative thinking', 'a qualitative research tool' and an 'explicatory, teaching tool'. In addition, she also considers:

- 'Examination of the root metaphor of a subject...
- Metaphor as a tool for deconstruction and the questioning of embedded assumptions...
- Metaphor as a hegemonic tool to influence perception and interpretation' (2000:308)

Certainly it has been suggested that metaphor has been employed to propose change or 'to influence how persons within and outside of the field thought about libraries' (Nardini, 2001). Nitecki, in putting forward a metaphorical hypothesis of librarianship, asserts that metaphor can be used to 'discovering new meaning by stimulating interest in a unique relationship. This approach opens up new possibilities for further analytical investigations' (1979:28). Schon, in discussing social policy development, argued that metaphors can serve as 'descriptions of perceived problems, providing a "problem frame" or "setting" through which appropriate solutions may emerge' (cited in Nitecki, 1993:259). This thesis was adapted and applied to a study attempting to identify users' perspectives of academic libraries through the analysis of metaphors employed by administrators, faculty and librarians (Nitecki, D, 1993:259). Thus this constant quest to revision the library through comparison to other schemas could be considered to be an ongoing attempt to redefine the profession, overturn assumptions, open up new possibilities and direction and manage change in a less threatening manner within the profession in times of uncertainty.

Akin and Palmer make the distinction between *etic* and *emic* contexts for the use of metaphors as change agents, with the *etic* approach representing metaphors expressing the view of an outsider, *emic* the view of the insider (2000:68-9). Because *etic* and *emic* metaphors can denote different points of view of the same organisation or situation, in this case the library, a study aiming to compare and contrast the use of *etic* metaphors (within fiction or other paradigms) and *emic* metaphors (within LIS literature) may reveal those gaps that exist between the way in which the LIS profession perceives itself and how outsiders perceive the library.

1.3 The structure of metaphor

In order to identify metaphorical expressions accurately, it is necessary to consider the form in which conceptual metaphors manifest in language. Because metaphor is about relating one concept to another, the structure of metaphor is often described as being made up of a 'source domain' and a 'target domain', with ontological correlations being mapped from the source domain to the target domain. Thus, the central metaphorical concept can often be expressed in the propositional form TARGET DOMAIN as/is SOURCE DOMAIN, with the actual metaphorical mappings being manifest in a variety of predominantly non-propositional forms (Lakoff, 1992).

To borrow an example from Lakoff and Johnson, the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT is WAR, prevalent in competitive Western culture, comprises the source domain – WAR – being mapped to the target domain – ARGUMENT, evidenced by such mappings, or metaphorical expressions, as:

- Your claims are *indefensible*.
- He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.
- His criticisms were *right on target*.

- I *demolished* his argument.
- I've *never won* an argument with him.
- You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*
- If you use that strategy he'll *wipe you out*.
- He *shot down* all my arguments. (1980:4).

So, if one considers Lakoff's explanation of the structure of metaphors as follows:

- Metaphors are mappings across conceptual domains.
- Such mappings are asymmetric and partial.
- Each mapping is a fixed set of ontological correspondences between entities in a source domain and entities in a target domain.
- When those fixed correspondences are activated, mappings can project source domain inference patterns onto target domain inference patterns. (Lakoff, 1992)

it is clear that any study of library metaphors will include both consideration of the concept 'library' as 'target domain' - for example, 'library as a storehouse' – and 'source domain' – for example, 'the internet as a library'. In other words, what traits of the library are being drawn upon when the word 'library' is employed as a 'source domain'? And what ideas about the library are revealed or reinforced when the word 'library' serves as a 'target domain'? In addition, it is necessary to identify and measure metaphor systems holistically, as containing correspondences that feed into the same central concept – that is, expressions such as 'information navigator' and 'literature searching' are arguably both ontological expressions within the metaphor system of 'librarianship as a quest'.

1.4 Limitations to the study of metaphor

While the possibilities offered by metaphor as a 'research utility' are exciting, it is necessary to consider the limitations presented to such research by the elusive, often slippery nature of metaphor itself: poets, linguists and philosophers assert that the implicit ambiguity of metaphors curbs the extent to which they can be 'literalised and used as analytical tools' (Inns, 2002:318). Within the discipline of organisational analysis, Chia questions the approach whereby '[m]etaphors are paradoxically treated literally as convenient conceptual windows which help the organisational analyst gain better access to rich avenues of meaning' (cited in Inns, 2002:318). Thus it is necessary to recognise that the analysis of metaphor is unlikely to be either straightforward or static (Inns, 2002:311) – rather the value of metaphor is in its inherent ambiguity as it 'reveals to us that what we see as objective reality or absolute truth is in fact open to interpretation' (Inns, 2002:321).

By definition, a metaphor is partial, incomplete: 'the adoption of a new metaphor can extend the horizons of a theoretical concept' but 'a slavish adherence to one perspective can blind theorists to other aspects of the concept' (Hamilton, 2000:243). It is therefore important to be aware of the fact that while metaphors originating both within and outside the library profession can be telling or revelatory, they can also lack substance, can be incoherent or embody invalid or outdated presumptions as Chu demonstrates through analysing a familiar and largely accepted metaphorical representation of the academic library:

Taken at face value, the metaphor of a library as the heart of the university has been used often to mean that a library is vital to a university. However, a careful examination raises several questions. The heart is a passive organ that can only react. If the body (the institution) needs to be exercised so that the heart can remain healthy, the heart (the library) cannot force the body to exercise. The heart cannot scan the environment and be proactive (2000:274).

By interrogating the metaphors associated with the library, the relevance and robustness of these metaphors can be examined to ascertain whether 'a metaphor or image has travelled too far from its original ground and created a gap between the way we think about things and what we actually do' (Lyman, 1998). It may also be that metaphor has been employed as a distorting lens with the 'power to trap the unwary by promoting false logic' (Ratzan, 2000).

Furthermore, Lakoff reminds us that '[m]etaphorical mappings vary in universality; some seem to be universal, others are widespread, and some seem to be culture-specific' (1992). Deignan reports that the cross-cultural applicability of metaphors can be limited both by specific cultural assumptions or 'folk beliefs' about characteristics of the source domain, and by the 'salience of the source domain' – that is, geographical or cultural differences may result in varying levels of familiarity with the conceptual source of a metaphor which in turn negatively impacts on its power to reveal meaning (2003:256-9). Furthermore, 'it has been demonstrated that different languages do exhibit different patterns of figurative language use' thus suggesting that linguistic differences can compound the cultural differences embedded in metaphors (Deignan, 2003:256). While the cultural specificity of metaphors is not necessarily a limitation – it has been argued that the study of culturally located metaphors can reveal much of the patterns of thinking and belief systems of a group of people (Deignan, 2003:256-9) – it is worthy of attention in terms of reviewing assumptions about the universality of library metaphors and what cultural variations in metaphor use can reveal about the way in which the library is conceived differently by diverse communities in varying environmental and cultural contexts.

2. Metaphorical representations of libraries in fiction

A number of possible languages make use of the same vocabulary; in some of them, the symbol *library* admits of the correct definition *ubiquitous and everlasting system of hexagonal galleries*, but *library* is *bread* or *pyramid* or anything else, and the seven words that define it possess another value. You who read me, are you sure you understand my language?

(Borges, in Cart, 2002:262)

It has been suggested that the appearance of libraries in literature, while frequent, is no more significant than the use of a stale stereotype intended to signpost intrigue. According to Battles, 'the library is such an evocative setting that it has become a cliché: what would a gothic mystery be without a gloomy library?' (2003:17). Similarly, Parker refers to libraries as 'literary commodities to be exploited...to add zest' (1990:844). In contrast, Walsh claims that literary representations of the library comprise some of 'most stimulating, thought-provoking, and controversial criticism written' (1987:212), an assertion supported by Garrett's comprehensive reading of Umberto Eco's *The name of the rose* as 'library criticism', with its 'vast and intricate library dystopia', 'librarian as archvillain' and the use of a library book as this villain's principal murder weapon, as deliberate criticism of, and warning to, the library profession (1991:373). While most literary portrayals of libraries and librarians do not match Eco's in terms of dark menace (or erudition, for that matter), there certainly does seem to be a predominance of unflattering representations evident across a number of genres and forms.

In a survey of the depictions of librarians (and, by extension, libraries) in comic books and graphic novels, Doug Highsmith uncovers themes of fear, punishment and death associated with the library. In amongst examples of the fairly predictable stereotype of the 'introverted, mousy, shush-ing librarian' (2002:82), library policemen work in libraries with prison cells where disobedient library users Ren and Stimpy are sentenced to '20 years' hard labour, starting with the installation of [a] new library automation system' (2002:68), Batman apprehends a murderous librarian who classifies his victims using DDC call numbers in 'The library of souls' (2002:65) and Spiderman consults a 'unattractive...arrogant and rude' librarian working in "the morgue", that is, the city library (2002:68).

Radford and Radford, in an analysis of the appearance of libraries in modern popular culture, focus more closely on the underlying issues of power evident in these motifs, using Foucault's discourse of fear to interrogate representations of libraries and librarians in fiction from Eco's oft-cited 'The name of the rose' to Stephen King's short story 'The library policemen'. Their conclusion that '[l]ibraries are understood through metaphors of control, tombs, labyrinths, morgues, dust, ghosts,

silence, and humiliation' (2001) within literature presents a clear challenge to the LIS profession to consider the appropriateness of these negative stereotypes.

Chrupala's comparative study of intertextuality evident in Umberto Eco's *Name of the Rose*, David Lodge's *The British Museum is falling down* and Borges' 'The library of Babel' identifies the following recurring themes in these three works, of the 'library as a universe, as a temple and as a forbidden place, as a labyrinth' (1998). Walsh also structures his consideration of fictional representations of libraries around the concept of intertextuality, with the library being the 'harbinger of intertext' (1987:213). Source texts considered are divided into:

the binary opposition fire:ice – fire stands for the blaze of intertextuality and the actual fire, recapitulating that great loss / gain, the burning of the Library of Alexandria. Ice stands for the scintillation of texts that do not 'blaze'; they are frozen, the intertextuality is suspended (1987:213).

While the elucidating value of this construct as a mechanism for library criticism is, at times, unclear, his examination of 'fire' in the libraries in Eco's *The name of the rose* and Mervyn Peake's *Titus Groan* suggests both the extent to which the impenetrability of the library can become overwhelming to the point of madness, liberating destruction and the possibility of renewal through fire (Walsh, 1987:236). Castillo (1984), in her 'postmodern tour of libraries in literature', turns to the works of Cervantes and Nabokov to explore librarians and madness, and considers the will to burn the library-labyrinth as 'passage from life into death' in the poetry of William Carlos Williams and Lopez Verlarde.

That is not to say that literature is without more positive metaphorical representations of libraries. The Japanese novelist, Haruki Murakami presents an appealing and sympathetic portrayal of the library as sanctuary, embodying memory-nostalgia, in his recent novel *Kafka on the shore* (2005). In his fantasy Discworld series, Terry Pratchett parodies sympathetically the challenging work conducted in libraries with his orangutan librarian at the 'Library of the Unseen University' who operates effectively in DiscWorld, an environment in which 'the axiom "Knowledge is power" is literally true... as the written word affects people's perceptions of reality which, in turn, alters reality', where books are capable of destroying people's lives if not treated with care, and the actual library exists over a uncertain number of dimensions, navigable only by the librarian (Gwyn, 2002).

How do these various representations of libraries intersect to form various and substantive metaphorical concepts that may be interpreted as images commonly held of the library? There certainly are recurrent themes that emerge in the representation of libraries in literature and the extent to which these representations have been studied both suggests that the use of libraries

must, at least sometimes, amount to more than mere literary commodities, and that librarians recognise that there may be something to be learned from the study of these library metaphors.

At the centre of the consideration of recurrent metaphorical concepts in fictional libraries below, lies two key works – Borges' *The library of Babel* and Eco's *The name of the Rose*. Not only does the centrality of the library in each - library as protagonist - and weight of critical attention given to both suggest the significance of these works in such a study, but, as Garrett explains: 'Both writers display the same encyclopedic urge, the same longing to pull together all the disparate images to which the Library has lent itself throughout world literature into a single, all-encompassing one, which can then stand as a cipher for the whole uncomprehended universe of human experience' (Garrett, 1991:375).

2.1 Library as universe, library as world

The opening line of Borges 'The Library of Babel', one of the most enduring and affecting literary representations of the library, immediately alerts the reader to the overarching portrayal of the library as all-encompassing yet ultimately unknowable realm evident in this masterpiece: 'The Universe (which others call the library) is composed of an indefinite, and perhaps infinite number of hexagonal galleries' (Borges, in Cart, 2002:256).

The realm and scope of the library is universal. Inhabited by librarians, it comprises all books, past and present and future, those written and those only imagined. The boundaries of this universe-library are unreachable, its extent unknowable: 'the Library is a sphere whose exact centre is any one of its hexagons and whose circumference is inaccessible' (Borges, in Cart, 2002:257). This notion of the limitless universe-library is also reflected in Pratchett's fantastical creation of DiscWorld's LSpace, in which 'the Library contains every book everywhere, including the ones that never actually got written' (cited in Bryant, 1998:17).

In Eco's *The name of the rose*, the abbey's library is laid out to suggest the fixed relationship between the 'world of knowledge' and the physical world: 'the plan of the library reproduces the map of the world' (Eco, 1983:314). The medieval conception of the cosmos is reflected in the architecture (Chrupala, 1997) while by creating a library in which the space and stock is organized and labelled according to the known world, Eco 'consciously mirrors the ignorance and misconceptions reflected by medieval cartography' (Haft, 1995).

The British Museum Library depicted in David Lodge's comic novel *The British Museum is falling down* is a microcosm of the modern world, in that it is populated by diverse characters from every corner of the globe, from all works of life:

...earnest, efficient Americans, humming away like dynamos, powered by Guggenheim grants; turbaned Sikhs, all called Mr Singh, and all studying Indian influences on English literature; pimply, bespectacled women smiling cruelly to themselves as they noted an error in somebody's footnote; and then the Museum characters: the gentleman whose beard reached to his feet, the lady in shorts, the man wearing odd shoes and a yachting-cap reading a Gaelic newspaper with a one-stringed lute propped up on his desk, the woman who sniffed (Lodge, 1983:45).

Ray Bradbury's short story 'Exchange' poignantly captures a nostalgia for a childhood in which the library seemed to both represent and contain a world waiting to be explored and understood under the guidance of an all-knowing, benevolent librarian:

...I used to think that you were Mrs God, and that the library was a whole world, and that no matter what part of the world or what people or thing I wanted to see or read, you'd find and give it to me... you had the world ready for me every time I asked. There was always a place I hadn't seen, a country I hadn't visited where you took me (Bradbury, in Cart, 2002:250).

Arguably, it is this type of wishful thinking that encourages humankind to continue to cling to notions of an objective, classifiable and therefore ultimately knowable universe: a world in which absolute truth exists, a world that can be mirrored and navigated safely within the library.

According to Radford 'the image of the "librarian-god" is common in the literary portrayal of the library' (1998), an image clearly represented within *The Library of Babel*. In Borge's infinite library, divine knowledge is located in a book, the book containing the answer: 'In some shelf of some hexagon, man reasoned, there must exist which is the cipher, and perfect compendium of *all the rest*: some librarian has perused it and it is analogous to a god' (Borges, in Cart, 2002:261). By reading this book, a librarian is elevated to the status of a god: 'Book and librarian, artefacts and nature, Humanism and Deism become equivalent to each other' (Sarra, 2005:303).

2.2 Library as labyrinth

The metaphorical concept of LIBRARY AS UNIVERSE (with the subsidiary tenet of traveling through the world or universe in search of knowledge) intersects with another common metaphor associated with the library, the LIBRARY AS LABYRINTH. The image of a hapless scholar lost in the stacks is a familiar one:

A maze of iron galleries, lined with books and connected by tortuous iron staircases, webbed his confused vision. He was in the stacks - he knew it - but it was difficult to connect this cramped and gloomy warren with the civilized spaciousness of the Reading Room (Lodge, 1983:90).

Certainly Borges' 'Library of Babel' is labyrinthine. Architecturally, it is made up of interminable levels of identical, interlinking hexagonal galleries, each with a spiral staircase and a mirror 'which faithfully duplicates appearances' (Borges, in Cart, 2002:256). Figuratively, the library also represents 'the labyrinthine nature of the world' (Chrupala, 1998), suggesting the complex task we face in making sense of the world around us, thus feeding back into the LIBRARY AS UNIVERSE metaphor.

What is the purpose of the labyrinth? 'In post-modernist thought, the literary text, the library, the labyrinth – each often serves as a complex sign for the other just as each stands for and thus interprets the world and the human condition' (Garrett, 1991:380), an idea echoed in the words of the monk Alinardo of Grottaferrato in *The name of the rose*: 'The library is a great labyrinth, sign of the labyrinth of the world' (Eco, 1983:158). The labyrinth embodies both the ideas of being lost – confusion – and looking for something, some way out – the search. The creation of confusion seems fundamental to the labyrinth – it is a riddle that exists to challenge and mislead. Certainly the library-labyrinth represented in *The name of the rose* is disorientating by design, self-protective to a threatening, adversarial level: 'A spiritual labyrinth, it is also a terrestrial labyrinth. You might enter and you might not emerge' (Eco, 1983:38).

The idea of the abbey library as labyrinth is, in part, suggested by the 'peculiar shape' of Eco's library, derived from 'a large thirteenth-century maze once existing on the floor of Rheims Cathedral in France' (Haft, 1995). This library-labyrinth is also the setting for a referential mystery, a detective story with William of Baskerville (the name signaling Sherlock Holmes) and his sidekick Adson (Baskerville's Watson), searching for the 'truth' (Tancheva, 2005:535). 'The labyrinth, like the text, is an abstract model of inference or conjecture' (de Lauretis, 1984:21). Thus the metaphorical concept of LIBRARY AS LABYRINTH also signifies the idea of the library as the setting for a journey of discovery, the quest for knowledge and understanding. For Eco's William of Baskerville, for Borges' librarians in the 'Library of Babel', and for the archetypal library user, the quest is for a book, quite simply, the book (Garrett, 1991:380).

Within the fantastical realm of Pratchett's DiscWorld, L-Space, 'the phase-space which links all library catalogues and books together', is not significantly different from the physical labyrinth described in *The name of the rose*: in an environment in which 'knowledge=power=energy=matter=mass', magic has warped L-Space to the extent that it now exists over an uncertain number of dimensions and only librarians are able to navigate the 'tangled mass of wormholes (or 'bookwormholes') linking the space-time continuum like the holes in a piece of Swiss cheese' (Sawyer, 2000:125). In addition to the idea of the search central to the library-labyrinth, L-Space highlights another key element of this metaphorical concept, that of the fundamental intertextuality of the library:

DiscWorld libraries all contain each other, much as postmodernism insists that all works of literature contain each other. Books on the DiscWorld also feed off each other, though in a rather more literal manner: "Books which, if left on a shelf with their weaker brethren, would be found in a 'Revised, Enlarged and Smug Edition' in the morning" (Bryant, 1998)

Kristeva first coined the term 'intertextuality' in 1966 to represent the notion of the interdependence of texts and while the term has subsequently been employed in a variety of ways, it is commonly understood to refer to the dialogue between a text and other texts (Chrupala, 1998). As Roland Barthes explains:

We know now that a text consists not of a line of words, releasing a single "theological" meaning (the "message" of the Author-God), but of a multi-dimensional space in which are married and contested several writings, none of which is original: the text is a fabric of quotations, resulting from a thousand sources of culture (cited in Bryant, 1998:16).

Given that Umberto Eco is a professor of semiotics, the reading of *The name of the rose* as an intertextual dialogue is unsurprisingly well-represented in the literature – the novel is a library within a book, a narrative labyrinth 'made up almost entirely of other texts, of tales already told, of names either well known or sounding as if they should be known to us from literary and cultural history; a medley of famous passages and obscure quotations, specialized lexicons and subcodes ... and characters cut out in strips from a generic World Encyclopedia (de Lauretis, 1985:16-7). In fact, Garrett asserts that the architecture of Eco's library reveals his debt to Borges, 'which in its size, geometric regularity, and labyrinthine structure is a direct descendant of Borges "Library of Babel"' (1991, 380).

2.3 Library as fortress, library as prison

The library defends itself, immeasurable in the truth it houses, deceitful as the falsehood it preserves (Eco, 1983:38).

The custodial function of the library is certainly familiar to many, but in the fictional realm, it is sometimes ambivalent, often negative connotations of this function, that are brought to life through images of fortresses, prisons and labyrinths to explore the ways in which the library – guardian, protector, warden - is perceived to limit access to information.

In Washington Irving's short story 'The mutability of literature', the image of the library as prison represents the challenge of balancing the toll of usage with the responsibility to preserve: a talking book complains to the narrator about being kept prisoner in Westminster Abbey's library:

[W]hat do they mean by keeping several thousand volumes of us shut up here, and watched by a set of old vergers, like so many beauties in a harem, merely to be looked at now and then by the dean? (cited in Battles, 2003:113)

The narrator responds with a take on the standard archival argument:

You are not aware of how much better off you are than most books of your generation... [V]ery few of your contemporaries can be at present in existence; and those few owe their longevity to being immured like yourself in old libraries; which, suffer me to add, instead of likening to harems, you might more properly and gratefully compare to those infirmaries attached to religious establishments for the benefit of the old and infirm (cited in Battles, 2003:113).

Tellingly, Eco's library is actually contained within a fortress and 'protected by an imposing bolted metal door' (Tancheva, 2005, 534). Of course, the labyrinthine design of the library, guarded by disorientating mirrors and mysterious intoxicants, is self-protective. The librarian alone is responsible for navigating the maze, controlling access to library materials, for deciding whether the library user is fit to handle the text requested:

The other monks ... may know the list of the volumes that the library houses. But a list of titles often tells very little: only the librarian knows, from the collection of the volume, from its degrees of inaccessibility, what secrets, what truths or falsehoods, that volume contains. Only he decides how, when, and whether to give it to the monk who requests it ... Because not all truths are for all ears, not all falsehoods can be recognized as such by a pious soul (Eco, 1983:36).

But William of Baskerville has brought disruptive technology into the fortress library in the form of eyeglasses that facilitate his searching, his access to information: 'in the confrontation between the blind man and the bespectacled one' (Artigiani, 1985:70), Eco sets in opposition the ancient curatorial role of the LIBRARY AS FORTESS with the modern idea of the search, ambivalently represented in the metaphorical concept LIBRARY AS LABYRINTH.

Within the magical realm of DiscWorld, the protective function of the library is portrayed positively as a necessary public service. As Gwyn explains:

The books themselves are sometimes individually dangerous. Some have to be chained to shelves to protect the users from them. Some unlucky readers have been fatally read by books, ending up as new appendices. Another type of magical volume is known to be cannibalistic, consuming other works. Others have to be kept in vats of ice water to prevent

spontaneous combustion. One particularly dangerous book has to be kept in a room by itself with eight locks on the door, as well as countless warding spells (Gwyn, 2002).

2.4 The library as censor

...also," the Erad was saying in his gloomy, sententious Erad voice, "we are concerned as to the matter of public safety. It is an axiom of this Library that public safety ranks foremost in value; our eradication of dangerous, disturbing written material... (Dick, 1967:47).

The notion of the library keeping society safe and sound through ensuring that dangerous, inflammatory, or immoral ideas are not made available to the masses is hardly new. However, this 'mission' is often treated with mistrust in fictional representations of the library. The idea of the fortress-library, protecting or imprisoning information, is extended to present the LIBRARY AS CENSOR, responsible for the alteration or eradication of information deemed inappropriate for consultation, incompatible with the order of the day.

In Philip K. Dick's *Counter clock world*, a world in which time is currently moving in reverse, the Library is an enigmatic government agency that purports to stand for 'the maintenance of the physical and spiritual institutions of present-day society' through controlling the 'unwriting' of history: 'Our job here at the Library,' Appleford said, "is not to study and/or memorize data; it is to expunge it' (Dick, 1967:17). This representation of the LIBRARY AS CENSOR can be interpreted as a criticism of the ways in which governments can withhold or amend history, or access to information, in order to ensure control of its citizens.

In the 'Library of Babel', some librarians (recalling the notion of the librarian / god overseeing the sanctity of the collection / universe) take it upon themselves to judge the merit of works within the library, to condemn superfluous texts:

Other men inversely thought that the primary task was to eliminate useless works. They would invade the hexagons, exhibiting credentials which were not always false, skim through a volume with annoyance, and then condemn entire bookshelves to destruction: their ascetic, hygienic fury is responsible for the senseless loss of millions of books (Borges, in Cart, 2002:260).

Thus the library is purportedly protecting society from ideas too difficult or dangerous to handle, from information overload. This idea of the library as a barrier to information is reminiscent of the metaphorical concept of the LIBRARY AS FORTRESS in that the library is protecting an arsenal of

potentially dangerous weapons: 'books function like weapons-grade plutonium: if a critical mass is allowed to build up, very unpleasant things happen (Gwyn, 2002). However, in addition to the issues of preservation embodied in this metaphor, the notion of the LIBRARY AS CENSOR explicitly represents questions about freedom of speech and the sanctity of the human record.

In Richard Brautigan's short novel *The abortion: an historical romance* 1966, the peculiar America Forever library in San Francisco is an institution dedicated to collecting unpublished works, deposited and placed anywhere on the library shelves according to the whim of the author, unlikely to be consulted again. This idiosyncratic collection development policy presents an interesting inversion of the notion of the LIBRARY AS CENSOR, or adjudicator on the worthiness of materials for preservation. By creating an environment charged with housing any work that any person has written and actively chosen to deposit, 'Brautigan decenters the concept of Library, raises the products of the patron to a privileged state, regardless of style, content, the identity and fame of the author and so on' (Walsh, 1987:216). Thus the library exists outside the regulated model in which publishers and other agents in the book industry fulfill a quality assurance role: it is the anti-censor to the point where the storage of information becomes an end unto itself, to the point of meaninglessness. This expression of the metaphorical concept highlights the challenges inherent in managing preservation and retrieval in the context of the contemporary flood of both print and (substantially unvetted) digital information sources.

2.5 Library as policeman, library as spy

Radford and Radford in their study on the discourse of fear within the library discuss the intimidating 'element of surveillance' implicit in the functions of the library (2001). This idea of the user being constantly watched or monitored and potentially punished by the library evokes religious connotations - the all-knowing God-guard overseeing his domain, waiting in judgment - that feed back into the metaphorical concept of the LIBRARY AS UNIVERSE.

In a novella entitled 'The library policeman', Stephen King creates a library populated by fearsome librarians who 'with one glance...could penetrate the heart of the person speaking to him, and read the secret thoughts' and the library policemen, 'the faceless enforcers who would actually come to your house if you didn't bring your overdue books back' (cited in Radford and Radford, 2001). Radford and Radford argue that this level of fear-inducing surveillance of library users evident in King's novella and other popular culture artifacts highlights the tension between order and disorder that exists in the library, 'the ultimate and exaggerated manifestation of the fear and consequences of a user bringing disorder to the otherwise complete and perfectly shelved collection' (2001).

In QL 696. C9, a short murder mystery by Anthony Boucher in which a librarian on the trail of foreign secret agents using library books to exchange messages is killed, the idea of library circulation records being scrutinized to uncover secrets is explored:

Of course she'd have the FBI's number. Professional necessity...Some librarians have been advancing the theory, you see, that a librarian can best help defense work by watching what people use which books. For instance, if somebody keeps borrowing every work you have on high explosives, you know he's a dangerous saboteur planning to blow up the aqueduct and you hand him over to the G-men (Boucher, in Cart, 2002:159).

This notion of the librarian as the responsible spy evokes the 'intrusive gaze' of the librarian and the history of libraries operating 'a strict regime of indirect, documentary surveillance' (Black, 2005:425). Such suggestions of the censorious role the library can play - well-intentioned with a firm belief in the value of their work to society, yet representing a dangerous infringement on personal liberty – has been opposed in recent years by librarians campaigning against government access to library records under such legislation as the USA Patriot Act of 2001.

2.6. The library as refuge, library as sanctuary

The image of the LIBRARY AS SPY contrasts strongly with metaphorical representations of the LIBRARY AS SANCTUARY. Isaac Babel's short story 'The public library', set in a Russia ravaged by war, is a tableau of folk from all walks of life, brought together in their choice to seek sanctuary in the library. From the wounded officer to the 'sleeping Jew...an inextinguishable martyr' and the talkative, off-balance woman researching how to make soap at home, '[t]here are all kinds of other people in the public library – too many to be described...The silent figures at the tables are a study in weariness, thirst for knowledge, ambition...' (Babel, in Cart, 2002:82).

Kafka, the teenage runaway of Murakami's *Kafka on the shore*, literally finds refuge in an idiosyncratic private library founded by a family bequest, an 'unreal place with people cut off from reality' (Murakami, 2005:258), already harboring a hermaphrodite misfit and a manager incapable of living in the present: '...from now on, you'll be part of the library. You're going to be staying in the library, living there. You'll open the doors when it's time for the library to open, shut them when it's time to close up' (2005:166).

Kafka takes up residence there until he becomes part of the library to the extent where he begins to interact with ghosts from the family's past as an element of his quest to better process and understand his own history.

In Brautigan's *The abortion: an historical romance* 1966, the portrayal of the library as a sanctuary is more ambivalent. The librarian lives in the library – 'tellingly described as a prison, a church, a funeral parlour, an asylum, a time machine, a monastery' at various points in the text (Horvath, 1985:446) – and chooses not to leave the building for three years, remaining instead insulated from the 'complications' of his previous life, from 'history, time and change' (Horvath, 1985:446). While the librarian initially regards the library as a sanctuary, rather than a prison, the library represents a refuge from life, the act of living. As he observes upon finally emerging from the library: 'Gee, it had been a long time. I hadn't realized that being in that library for so many years was almost like being in some kind of timeless thing. Maybe an eternity' (cited in Horvath, 1985:446).

In *The British Museum is falling down*, David Lodge, in a satirical portrayal of academic life set largely in the reading rooms at the British Museum (now simply called the British Library), comically depicts the library as a refuge for supposed academics from the vagaries of reality: 'The British Museum was returning to its winter role - refuge for scholars, post-graduates and other bums and layabouts in search of a warm seat' (Lodge, 1983:34). He employs the image of a womb to represent the sanctuary scholars seek within the walls of this library:

He passed through the narrow vaginal passage, and entered the huge womb of the Reading Room. Across the floor, dispersed along the radiating desks, scholars curled, foetus-like, over their books, little buds of intellectual life thrown off by some gigantic act of generation performed upon that nest of knowledge, those inexhaustible ovaries of learning, the concentric inner rings of the catalogue shelf... (Lodge, 1983:44).

The womb-like image suggests both the role of the library as an incubator of ideas and the notion that scholars, like foetuses, require the protection of the womb as they are not equipped for, nor interested in, the harsher elements of the world outside the safety of the womb: 'perhaps he could live in the Museum, hiding when the closing bell rang and dosing down on one of the broad-topped desks with a pile of books for a pillow' (Lodge, 1983:79).

2.7 Library as holy place, library as crypt

The abbey library attached to the monastery in *The name of the rose* underlines the historical relationship between the library and religion, a relationship that goes some way towards explaining the prevalent metaphorical concept of LIBRARY AS HOLY PLACE, be it church, cathedral or temple. Religious expressions, including images of holy wars, permeate the vocabulary of the librarian-narrators describing 'The library of Babel': 'I know of districts where the youth prostrate

themselves before books and barbarously kiss the pages, though they do not know how to make out a single letter... heretical disagreements, the pilgrimages which inevitably degenerate into banditry, have decimated the population' (Borges, in Cart, 2002:262).

In *The British Museum is burning down*, the notion of the library as 'temple of knowledge' is captured in the narrator's worshipful description of the dome of the British Museum Library:

I have seen all sorts of domes of Peters and Pauls, Sophia, Pantheon - what not? - and have been struck by none of them as much as by that catholic dome in Bloomsbury, under which our million volumes are housed ... It seems to me one cannot sit down in that place without a heart full of grateful reverence. I own to have said my grace at the table, and to have thanked Heaven for this my English birthright, freely to partake of these bountiful books and to speak the truth I find there (Lodge, 1983:34).

Chrupala suggests that the religious implications of this metaphorical concept support the idea that access to the library, the 'altar' of learning, is restricted to those worthy and able to decipher the knowledge contained within (1997), a notion that feeds back into the concept of LIBRARY AS FORTRESS, aptly demonstrated by the role of the librarian as gatekeeper in Eco's abbey library.

In a study of the library as a sign in popular culture, Tancheva puts forward that 'being a repository of dead discourse, the library combines the grandeur of the church and the loneliness of the crypt' (2005:531). In calling libraries 'shrines where all the relics of the ancient saints, full of true virtue and that without delusion or imposture, are preserved and reposed', Francis Bacon brought together images of religion, death and preservation (cited in Luke, 2006:471).

While the library as anathema to life is implicitly expressed in those representations of the library as refuge from life discussed above, the vocabulary of the grave, and of death, is also well-represented in fictional libraries. Arguably, these images of death suggest the library's role in preserving history: In Lord Sepulchrave's library in *Titus Groan*, the books are described as 'corpses of thought' (cited in Walsh, 1987:221) while the Library of Babel, in its universal design, is ultimately the eternal graveyard for all librarians.

In Eco's *The name of the rose*, death is ever-present in the abbey library as William and Adso investigate a mysterious series of suspected murders - first the illuminator, then a brilliant translator from the Greek, followed by the assistant librarian, the abbey herbalist, and finally the librarian himself. Even the catacombs of the abbey library mimic the order of the library as, in death, the process of ordering becomes controllable: 'After burial, when the flesh has thoroughly decomposed, the monks are neatly filed in the subterranean catacombs – hands with hands, skulls with skulls, femurs with femurs – in perfect obedience to the law of maximum entropy' (Artigiani, 1985:67).

2.8. Library as intoxicant, library as poison

The library has been used to represent the way in which the sheer span of knowledge, by definition unknowable by dint of sheer volume, can overwhelm the library user to the point of vertigo, confusion, despair, even madness. Echoing the confusion of the library-labyrinth, the compulsion to know, to consume becomes addictive, with the library user intoxicated by the elusiveness of knowledge. In Thomas Wolfe's novel *Of time and the river*, Eugene Gant becomes fixated with the fictionalized stacks of Harvard's Widener Library:

Now he would prowl the stacks of the library at night, pulling books out of a thousand shelves and reading them like a madman. The thought of these vast stacks of books would drive him mad: the more he read, the less he seemed to know – the greater the number of the books he read, the greater the immense uncountable number of those which he could never read would seem to be... He read insanely, by the hundreds, the thousands, the ten thousands... [T]he thought that other books were waiting for him tore at his heart forever. He pictured himself as tearing the entrails from a book as from a fowl (cited in Battles, 2003:3).

Within Borges' 'Library of Babel', the librarians, are driven to 'suicide and pulmonary diseases', even madness, by their endless, hopeless quests throughout the libraries endless, recurring galleries:

Thousands of covetous persons abandoned their natal hexagons and crowded up the stairs, urged on by the vain aim of finding their Vindication. These pilgrims disputed in the narrow corridors, hurled dire maledictions, strangled each other on the divine stairways, flung the deceitful books to the bottom of the tunnels and died as they were thrown into space by men from remote regions. Some went mad... (Borges, in Cart, 2002:259).

George Gissing's short story 'Spellbound', written in the late nineteenth century, relates the cautionary tale of Percy Dunn's growing obsession with the reading rooms at a local public library in London to the detriment of all other areas in his life. As the title suggests, Dunn becomes entranced by the sheer act of reading in the library: 'week after week went by and he sat reading ... Month after month, and still he read' (Gissing, 2002). While initially Dunn tries to convince himself that his compulsive library visits are productive in some way, basically he is 'stupefying himself as with a drug, which lulled his anxieties, obscured his conscience'. This addiction begins to take its toll physically: there was a 'growing strangeness in him, a lethargy which held him mute, and seemed to weigh upon his limbs; he sometimes looked ... with disquieting eyes, a dull stare as though his wits were leaving him' (Gissing, 2002).

Within Eco's abbey library, intoxicants are employed to confuse intruders: 'Someone puts magic herbs there during the night to convince importune visitors that the library is guarded by diabolical presences' (Eco, 1983:175). But it is a single book hidden in the library that is poison to any reader, Aristotle's second book on *Poetics*, a defence of laughter. In an attempt to prevent anyone from being exposed to what he perceives to be the destructive power of this text, the librarian Jorge 'poisons its pages to kill anyone reading it – the ultimate semiotic sin' (Artigiani, 1985:69). While the library itself is not poisoned, within the intertextual world of the abbey library, the text is the library and this text represents a threat to the notion of absolute truth, fixed, controllable meaning, thus bringing into question the authority of the library itself:

Jorge feared the second book of Aristotle because it perhaps really did teach how to distort the face of every truth, so that we would not become slaves of our ghosts. Perhaps the mission of those who love mankind is to make people laugh at the truth, to *make truth laugh*, because the only truth lies in learning to free ourselves from insane passion for the truth (Eco, 1983:491).

2.9 Library as history, library as memory

The idea of the library serving as the memory for humankind is a recurrent theme in literature, particularly science fiction. In Keller's 'The cerebral library', brains of dead readers are stored in jars to serve as libraries, providing instant access to books they had read whilst alive (Gunn, n.d.). In Ray Bradbury's dystopian *Fahrenheit 451*, this metaphor is inverted: in a world in which the government has ordered that all books be burned, the brain becomes the ultimate library as rebels memorise favorite texts so that they would not be lost (Gunn, n.d.). Montag, the protagonist who rejects his life as a fireman responsible for burning books to join a community of rebels, each dedicating their lives to preserve textual knowledge by memorising one key text, describes the resistance as follows:

Somewhere the saving and the putting away had to begin again and someone had to do the saving and the keeping, one way or another, in books, in people's heads, any way at all so long as it was safe, free from moths, silverfish, rust and dry-rot, and men with matches (Bradbury, 1979:125).

The library's function as preserver is similarly represented in Walter M. Miller's deeply pessimistic *A canticle for Leibowitz*, set in a world in which all books and papers have been destroyed by people living in a world devastated by nuclear war in an attempt to prevent a repeat of this catastrophe. In the centuries that follow this 'Great Simplification', a few monks of the Order of St Leibowitz dedicate their lives to maintaining a secret library, the Memorabilia, in order to:

Throughout Murakami's *Kafka on the shore*, the image of the library as a mechanism for storing memories presently too difficult or confusing to comprehend recurs: 'Memory isn't so important here. The library handles memory' (2005:473). It is the Komura Library (and its librarian) that becomes 'the library of the mind', enabling Kafka to begin 'to "narrativize" the world around him and his own experiences and memories ...to deal with his dreams and memories, to achieve a constant renewal of the self' (Flutsch, 2006). As the librarian Oshima himself explains:

But inside our heads – at least that's where I imagine it – there's a little room where we store those memories. A room like the stacks in this library. And to understand the workings of our own hearts we have to keep on making new reference cards. We have to dust things off every once in a while, let in fresh air, change the water in the flower vases. In other words, you'll live forever in your own private library (Murakami, 2005:501).

2.10 Library as inferno

Everything happened in a few moments as if for centuries those ancient pages had been yearning for arson and were rejoicing in the sudden satisfaction of an immemorial thirst for acpyrosis (Eco, 1983:483).

One of the most familiar motifs to be associated with the library is, of course, that of the great fire, the burning of the library. As the element of rapid transformation, fire, in both history and fiction, has been a mechanism for cleansing, purification and destruction (Castillo, 1984:143). Certainly, the fire that destroys Eco's library-labyrinth at the end of *The name of the rose* seems necessary and inevitable: 'the library has been doomed by its own impenetrability, by the mystery that protected it, by its few entrances (Eco, 1983:489). Rubino argues that the image of the imposing monastery library collapsing into flames represents the essential capitulation of 'the order of the Newtonian idealisation', the notion of absolute truth, or an objective, universal worldview (1985:61). Ironically it is Jorge of Burgos, the domineering monastery librarian, who fears and opposes change of any kind, who starts the fire.

The vast private library of Lord Sepulchrave in Mervyn Peake's *Titus Groan* is also destroyed by fire. In this case, the arsonist is an ambitious servant Steerpike, who starts the fire in the hope that by saving members of the household from the resulting blaze, he will rise in status. This library inferno has been interpreted both as a cure for bibliomania and as an attack on privilege afforded by learning (Walsh, 1987:233):

'He's very clever,' said Cora. 'But he reads it all in books,' said Clarice. 'Exactly.' Steerpike followed quickly upon this. 'Then if he lost his books, he would be all but defeated.' 'If the center of his life was destroyed he would be but a shell.' 'As I see it your Ladyships, it is at his library that our first thrust must be directed.' (Peake, cited in Walsh, 1987:233).

University of Cape Town

3. Metaphorical representations of libraries within library literature

Within the library community, there is historical evidence of metaphor being employed self-consciously as a mechanism to question, review and revise the image and direction of the profession. In Nardini's systematic and comprehensive review of library metaphors employed within articles featured in *Library Journal* and *Public Libraries* in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, he asserts that not only did metaphor 'become a way to disagree about libraries' within the professional ranks, it also could be used tactically to encourage recruitment or to communicate using vocabulary understandable to outsiders, such as philanthropists or politicians, in a position to fund library development (Nardini, 2001).

Ranganathan, in summarising the evolution of libraries, traces the library from an 'incarceration metaphor of the "hiding place" or "book prison" prior to the seventeenth century to "limited freedom" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' (Koehler, 2006). According to Battles, 'in the nineteenth century, the sheer proliferation of books in number and in kind transformed the library from temple to market, canon to cornucopia (2003:119). It was also at this stage in history that 'the principal image of librarians began to shift from custodian to caregiver' (Battles, 2003:120).

In Nardini's systematic and comprehensive review of metaphors employed within articles featured in *Library Journal* and *Public Libraries* in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, he categorises those metaphors identified as follows:

- Metaphors of school and church – such as "people's university", "librarian as missionary";
- Metaphors of industry and public Works – such as "workshop" and "laboratory", "quarries of knowledge";
- Metaphors of business
- Metaphors of machines (Nardini, 2001)

In 1979, Nitecki reviewed LIS literature in search of metaphorical definitions of libraries and librarianship and identified numerous examples, including:

- 'Shera's metaphor of 'social epistemology' based on the ideal of the librarian as 'a missionary of the human mind';
- Orr's relation of the holistic concept of general systems theory to 'libraries as systems';
- Harris' reflection of the public library movement as the 'power of popular democracy';
- And Dewey's observation of libraries in a former time to be 'like a museum and a librarian was a mouser in musty books' (Nitecki, D., 1993:260).

However he asserted that there remained a lack of consensus about the nature of librarianship and put forward a theoretical model in which he uses metaphor itself as a metaphor to express the communication processes central to librarianship. That is, the concept of metaphor 'provides a root metaphor which explains the essential metaphysical nature of librarianship, that is, as a never-ending process of expanding knowledge by relating less-known to more familiar experiences' (Nitecki, 1979:38). If one considers the idea that the far reaches of the universe are progressively more entropic, the expansion of knowledge is towards an increase in chaos, thus necessitating the ongoing invention of new metaphors to reveal possible meanings, new patterns for the arguably hopeless task of organising and re-organising knowledge.

In this context, it is unsurprising that there is a wide range of metaphorical concepts being employed by LIS professionals attempting to capture past and existing roles that various types of libraries – such as academic, public, medical – may be fulfilling while at the same time advocating new directions or roles that librarians hope to fulfil. However, closer examination of those metaphors proposed in the literature is required in order to measure their coherence and compatibility in terms of determining future directions for the profession.

3.1 Metaphors of mind and memory

The representation of the LIBRARY AS MEMORY has its roots in the ancient origins of libraries which, in their compartmentalised arrangement, offered an admirable representation, like scrolls or codices stored within, for the 'acts of memory':

Libraries, as physical structures for organising and storing books, provided one of the models of ancient mnemonics ... As a mnemonic device, the library is thus both externalised and internalised, material and mental; the isomorphism of the two aspects enables readers to get their bearings in both the collection of material books and that of books read and memorised (Jacob, 2002:50-51).

According to Shera, 'the key to the true meaning of librarianship is to be found in the power of the brain to translate the symbolism of the written word into vicarious experience, assimilate and store this experience in the memory, and reactivate it on demand...the traditional metaphor of the library as the memory of civilisation may have more validity than has been realised, for the brain is also the library of the individual' (cited in Nitecki, 1979:27).

Nitecki suggests that the use of the LIBRARY AS MEMORY metaphor is a good example of using metaphor heuristically as 'it suggests a number of possible, initially intangible relationships

...preserve human history for the great-great-great-grandchildren of the simpletons who wanted it destroyed ... Its members were either 'bootleggers' or 'memorizers', according to the tasks assigned. The bootleggers smuggled books to the southwest desert and buried them there in kegs. The memorizers committed to rote memory entire volumes of history, sacred writings, literature, and science, in case some unfortunate book smuggler was caught, tortured, and forced to reveal the location of the kegs (Miller, cited in Griffen, 1987:140).

A common element of the LIBRARY AS MEMORY metaphorical concept, the brain as library (albeit an unreliable one), recurs in such dystopian portrayals of human evolution, often in the context of what Spencer calls the 'post-apocalyptic library' where humankind has somehow returned to a pre-literate society in which memory and storytelling are the mechanisms for preserving and communicating human history and knowledge. A persistent theme in the portrayal of libraries and books in fictional visions of the future is the oppression of society through government control of access to all textual records of humankind's history. In Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, the government has outlawed books and all libraries and museums closed in a 'Campaign against the Past', while secretly the government has hoarded the great books of the past (Pennavaria, 2002:233-4).

Of course, the notion of the LIBRARY AS MEMORY is not located in science fiction alone. In David Lodge's *The British Museum is falling down*, the idea of the library serving as the brain, the memory of human civilization is explicitly expressed by the central character as he describes the British Museum Library:

It was like a diagram of something - a brain or a nervous system, and the foreshortened people moving about in irregular clusters were like blood corpuscles or molecules. This huge domed Reading Room was the cortex of the English-speaking races, he thought, with a certain awe. The memory of everything they had thought or imagined was stored here (Lodge, 1983:92-93).

Given the status of the British Museum Library as the national deposit library of Great Britain, responsible for ensuring that all publications produced within the country are preserved, this representation is surely unsurprising.

On a more personal level, in Ray Bradbury's short story 'Exchange', the library becomes the preserver of childhood memories, guardian of lost friends and nostalgia for less complicated times when a soldier return to the public library where he hid from bullies as a child: 'Everything's here. Nothing's changed... Maybe my friends, who've hid in the stacks all these years, will come out, too' (Bradbury, in Cart, 2002:254).

between the content of a library collection and the cultural heritage of the society (Nitecki, 1979:28-9). Dalbello discusses the extension of the traditional role of the library as 'memory institution' and 'shaper' of cultural memory into the digital realm:

Memory institutions have been the legitimate producers of culture and identity, the official repositories of common culture. They have a regulated (legitimate) and regulative effect (legitimizing) in society. The fixed object orders of the past—in the museum, the archive, and the library—represent shared memories of a society. It is reasonable to consider digital libraries to be developing under assumptions of continuity, with the existing memory institutions maintaining and building shared memories (Dalbello, 2004:276-7).

She cites examples of recent digital library projects, primarily in the USA, in which public and research libraries are attempting to capture retrospectively 'community memory' and 'memory narratives' (Dalbello, 2004:274-5). In comparing some of these projects with 'cabinet of curiosities of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe' in which 'the assemblages of objects do not reveal a unifying narrative that contextualizes information objects within an authentic context of creation', Dalbello comments on the difficulty of framing these collection with sustained, faithful and accessible recreated historical narratives (Dalbello, 2004:290-1).

Even within the context of the latest expression of the LIBRARY AS CONVERSATION metaphor, replete with user-controlled participatory technologies and therefore changeable by definition, the issue of preservation and role of the library as memory-keeper is still evident:

Aside from simply providing systems that facilitate conversation, libraries serve as the vital community memory. Conversations construct knowledge, but someone must remember what has already been said, and know how to access that dialog. Scientific conversations, for example, are built on previous conversations (theories, studies, methods, results, and hypotheses). Capturing conversations and "playing them back" at the right time is essential (Lankes, Silverstein & Nicholson, 2006:30).

The need to preserve all iterations and detours in the development of an idea has become more pressing as authority and version control have become increasingly problematical in the digital arena. Atkinson borrows the term 'fair witness' from *Stranger in a strange land*, a science fiction novel by Robert Heinlin to put forward an argument for the role libraries can play in ensuring stable, authoritative preservation of scholarly information in the unstable digital environment 'The novel takes place in a future age with significantly advanced technology – but despite (or perhaps because of) such technical innovations, society has come to depend upon a group of trusted

agents, called fair witnesses, to record, recall, and convey information about significant events (Atkinson, 2005)

3.2 Metaphors of fortification, imprisonment and death

Librarians in the nineteenth century employed metaphors of fortification and imprisonment to represent the images of the profession that they were eager to discard. Dewey spoke disparagingly of a 'deserted castle', an 'arsenal in time of peace', with the librarian as a 'sentinel' and 'jailer' gatekeeper while Winsor referred to the librarian as 'the warder of the castle' (Nardini, 2001). Other negative metaphors of the time included the library as 'a tomb for useless books' and a 'mausoleum' (Nardini, 2001).

Black explains that the metaphor of LIBRARY AS PRISON is, in fact, represented in the architecture of some libraries in the United Kingdom:

Many library designs mirrored Bentham's late-eighteenth-century plan for a model prison – the panopticon – in which ... prisoners, confined in individual cells arranged in a circular fashion around a central observation point, are prevented by devices like blinds and bright lights from seeing who is seeing them. Because prisoners in the panopticon never know when they are being watched, they are forced to be on good behavior permanently. Library designs in Liverpool (Picton Reading Room, 1879) and Manchester (Central Library, 1934) as well as in a number of other towns followed this principle (Black, 2005:425).

Both Charles Cutter and Melvil Dewey used the 'metaphor of an army to justify their imposition of a hierarchical structure to order the chaotic mob of information' (Olson, 2004:605) within libraries. This mob vs. army metaphor, being binary, hence hierarchical, has resulted in a legacy of classification practice in libraries originating in 19th century philosophy (Olson, 2004:605). Reenstjerna argues that the outdated paradigm of 'natural order' on which both Dewey's DDC and Cutter's LCSH are based has bound library services to the closed and fixed metaphorical concept of LIBRARY AS FORTRESS, guarding against change, which bears little relation to the current open and cross-disciplinary 'informational environment' that may be better served by the 'portal' metaphor (2001:109). The image of the librarian as 'gatekeeper' can also be read as an extension of this metaphor, controlling access to the fortress of information, historically often according to social class (Reenstjerna, 2001:102). Black relates Foucault's idea of the "'technician of conduct" ... the embodiment of the modern, scientifically oppressive prison' to the idea of the 'librarian as "gatekeeper," holding the keys to culture and knowledge and at the same time offering protection from its dangers' (Black, 2005:419).

Just as public libraries chose to open their doors to all classes of the community, the LIBRARY AS POLICEMAN emerged as a 'necessary' element in this programme of social inclusion: 'Victorian librarians were plagued with instances of noisy and disorderly conduct and adopted arguably exclusionary practices as a result. Exhortations to silence and complex, police-like closed access and issue systems were often the norm and these were often guaranteed to exclude the marginal, semi-literate or poor (Muddiman, 2000:6-7)

More recently, Gorman employed the LIBRARY AS FORTRESS metaphor in a 1986 article entitled 'Laying siege to the fortress library' to represent isolated libraries unwilling to work cooperatively with each other. He called for these fortress libraries to be overthrown with the idea of a single entity, 'The Library – the fusion of all libraries through cooperation' (Gorman, 1986:325). But images of death are still to be overturned: in a public library survey conducted as part of a youth development initiative in 1999, one respondent declared: 'libraries are like those places they keep dead people. What are they called? Morgues!' (Meyers, 1999).

3.3 Metaphors of education

It was Melvil Dewey who, in an early attempt to create a vision for the emergent profession of librarianship in the late nineteenth century in the USA, rejected the notion of library as 'museum' and librarian as 'mouser in musty books', instead putting forward the metaphorical concept of the library as a 'school' with librarian as 'teacher' (Nardini, 2001). Library philanthropist Andrew Carnegie and other library leaders of the time linked images of schools to libraries so as to stress the educative role that free public libraries could (and should) be playing. This relationship was extended metaphorically to include education at a higher level, famously expressed in the truism of the public library as the 'people's university' (Nardini, 2001). This concept has continued to appear in the professional literature every since, particularly in the arena of academic librarianship, most recently embodied in the ubiquitous phrase 'information literacy', and pronouncements of the library as a 'learning arena' (Tveitereid, 2001), 'learning laborator[y]' (CLIR, 2005:4), 'library as an extension of the classroom' (CLIR, 2005:5) to list but a few.

3.4 Metaphors of industry

The shift from an agrarian to an industrialised, production-based workforce in the United States in the nineteenth century influenced the types of metaphors being employed by the library community as '[l]ibrarians often compared their own operations to the small-scale industry of workshop and laboratory' (Nardini, 2001). Battles puts forward that, for 'the library leaders of the nineteenth century, the library was an engine or factory for producing *efficient* readers – people who read usefully, ignored the frivolity and dross of literature, and used books to advance themselves and

their society' (Battles, 2003:199-200). Nardini uncovers a rich range of metaphorical expressions from the professional literature of the time to demonstrate this emergence of metaphors of industry: with the research library as a 'foundry' and the public library 'smith's shop', libraries as 'quarries of knowledge', 'derrick[s]' (Nardini, 2001).

Notably, Justin Winsor, library leader and first president of the American Library Association, promoted the transition of the library from 'prison' to 'workshop': 'Books may be accumulated and guarded, and the result is sometimes called a library; but if books are made to help and spur men on in their own daily work, the library becomes a vital influence; the prison is turned into a workshop' (cited in Nardini, 2001). This notion of libraries as a tool for encouraging 'economic utility' in workers was also evident in the United Kingdom: 'The inscription over the entrance of Norwich public library that "work is no punishment, it is a blessing" was perhaps one of the more blatant pieces of capitalist propaganda on show in a public library at the time (Muddiman, 2000:18).

Perhaps less cynically, Lipscomb asserts that '[t]he redefinition of American libraries in the last quarter of the nineteenth century from "storehouse to workshop" emphasized the use of collections rather than their accumulation. Books were tools and libraries were laboratories where scholars engaged in active intellectual investigation' (Lipscomb, 2001:79). In a brief consideration of the history of the metaphorical concept of the LIBRARY AS LABORATORY (with particular reference to medical libraries), Lipscomb judges this concept to have ongoing power 'because it highlights the role of the library in facilitating the use of information to develop new knowledge' (2001:80).

3.5 Metaphors of religion

The association between the library and religion is one firmly rooted in history. In ancient Egypt 'librarians were priest-scribes, "keepers of the sacred books"' (Sawyer, 2000:109). Similarly in Roman times, libraries were attached to the temple and library collections managed by priests while during the Middle Ages, monasteries and monks 'kept scholarship and books alive in libraries and scriptoria' (Nitecki, 1993).

It has been noted that library architecture is often evocative of cathedrals and other places of worship, with the grandeur of imposing facades and vaulted ceilings representing the idea of the library as a holy place of learning, or as Garrett puts it, 'one of the most visible and important temples that society has erected' to the belief in the positivist view of knowledge (1991:382). Many library buildings from various eras have been categorized as 'temples' or 'cathedrals' (Hart *et al*, 1996). Lambert mentions that Suzzallo Library with its stained-glass windows, was called a 'cathedral of books' when it was first opened (Lambert, 2004:76) while Radford and Radford (2001)

refer to the 'grandeur of library architecture' of the nineteenth century, evocative of churches and cathedrals.

In 1882, the editors of the *Library journal* evoked religious imagery to promote the vision of the library as tool for social upliftment for poor or marginalised communities:

Before many years we shall see branch libraries springing up in all poor quarters of the city close to the homes of the people who will use them, each serving a district not so large that the personal influence of the librarian cannot come into play – the parish churches of literature and education' (cited in Nardini, 2001).

Nardini lists other examples of religious vocabulary being employed in library literature in the late 19th century: public libraries described as 'parish churches of literature and education ... altars to the gods of good fellowship, joy and learning', with the librarian as 'the father confessor of the mind ... the priest of the intellect' and the 'missionary of the book' (2001), a phrase recalled in Shera's description of the librarian as a 'missionary of the human mind' (Nitecki, 1979:23)

The use of religious imagery in the library still continues: the 11th entry in the American Library Association's "12 Ways Libraries Are Good for the Country" evokes religious imagery as part of a marketing campaign for the profession: 'Libraries offer sanctuary. Like synagogues, churches, mosques, and other sacred spaces, libraries can create a physical reaction, a feeling of peace, respect, humility, and honor that throws the mind wide open and suffuses the body with a near-spiritual pleasure' (2000). More recently, Reenstjerna describes the academic library as 'the inner sanctum of the temple on the hill' (2001:102) while some 'traditionalist librarians' spoke of the increasing digitisation of public libraries in the late 1990s as the 'desecration' of the library (McCook, 1997).

Maxwell, in a discussion about the sacred nature of libraries, asserts that 'libraries evoke a feeling of goodness, power, and lasting importance that resembles that experienced in an old-fashioned church. An ineffable force seems present within the walls (Maxwell, 2006:37). She considers libraries to be providing 'sacred, secular spaces', offering 'salvation' through reading and draws comparisons between librarians and clergy, speaks of 'ministering in the library' and the 'higher purpose' of the library profession (Maxwell, 2006:36).

3.6 Metaphors of medicine

Drawing on the vocabulary of another 'social institution', the president of the Des Moines Public Library declared in 1894, 'What better antidote for all this moral and intellectual poison than the

counter attractions of a well-selected reference and circulating library?’ (cited in Goldstein, 2003:224). Black traces the history of the idea of the ‘library as clinic’ in the United Kingdom: ‘Throughout their early history public libraries conveyed a stern moralizing message to combat the social diseases of the immoral, irrational kind’ (2005:423). This twinning of libraries and medicine is hardly new. In 1934 Jose Ortega y Gasset discussed the ‘mission of the librarian’ in terms of preventative medical care – ‘to protect society from “ideas received in inertia” an even “pseudo-ideas”, making the librarian...society’s appointed “doctor and hygienist of reading”’ (cited in Garrett, 1991:382). C. P. Snow recalled the Hypocratic Oath during his Presidential address to the Library Association in 1961 to express the notion of librarians as physicians – ‘Librarians are blessed in . . . that either they do no harm – that is the lower limit of their activity – or they do a finite amount of good. That is a very rare privilege’ (1961:359). Interestingly, Black observes that, in attempting to make their services more readily available and appealing to people from all walks of life, public libraries became seen ‘both as a conveyor of physical disease due to mass use and ...as an encouragement to a diseased popular culture through the purveyance of low fiction and the provision of access to betting news ... Thus, established to cure disabling social “diseases” by making reading an infectious disease of the favorable kind, the public library itself became, in the eyes of some, a “diseased” institution, both physically and culturally’ (Black 2005:423).

3.7 Metaphors of geography and exploration

Notions of universality are pervasive in the history of the library. Cataloguers in the ‘oldest vestiges of libraries’ were called ‘ordainers of the universe’ by the Sumerians (Manguel, 1996:191). Konrad von Gesner, as ‘father of universal bibliography’ pioneered the possibility of creating a record of all written works. With his mammoth *Universal Library* (1545), ‘Gesner sought to emulate in this multivolume work the ancient Library of Alexandria, which had aimed to garner all the books of the world’ (Johns, 2001:287). More recently, this notion is, of course, embodied in one of the most prevalent library classification systems in the world, the (in)famous Dewey Decimal Classification Scheme, with its division of the ‘universe of knowledge’ into ten main classes (Sawyer, 2000:116).

While the ability of the library to represent a fixed controllable version of the world, or universe of knowledge, has been challenged from within the profession, geographical imagery pervades the vocabulary of the profession. The evocation of space is essentially a function of the search – if a library user is ‘searching’ for information (or engaging in information-seeking behaviour) they are surely looking somewhere for that information, a locale for their voyage of discovery. Furthermore, given that the library has historically comprised a physical space in which users must navigate when looking for information, the use of vocabulary such as ‘wayfinding’, ‘route uncertainty’, ‘lostness’, ‘navigation’ and ‘landmark knowledge’ in articles considering information seeking behaviour is unsurprising (See Eaton, 1991; Stelmaszewska & Blandford, 2000).

In 1889, Charles A Cutter claimed that 'our libraries have been like our railroads...libraries, begun modestly a century ago, opened up a great country of intellect' (cited in Nardini, 2001). In a discussion of the metaphorical concept of LIBRARY AS VESSEL, Masys conceives of the library in terms of conveyance: 'Like a ship for hire, the library must decide which missions it will equip itself for, what tools for navigation it will acquire and master. As explorers on the oceans of data and information, libraries move in both charted and uncharted waters' (Masys, 1997).

Nitecki refers to librarianship as 'intellectual cartography, orienting people to specific ideas' and cites Wheeler's idea of 'the map of knowledge or countries of the mind' represented by library collections in support of this idea (Nitecki, J., 1993). Merikangas employed the metaphor of mapmaking to represent the act of utilizing 'mental maps' to visualize information seeking and other activities in the library: "I see us making maps through our library bibliographic systems . . . [providing] assistance and instructional systems, . . . used by readers who have become mapmakers themselves . . . [creating] mental maps of our systems . . . by which they traverse the maps to the knowledge-places they seek' (cited in Nitecki, J., 1993).

Library historian Christian Jacob draws comparisons between libraries and maps as 'ways of externalising memory and knowledge, making them not only concrete, visible and accessible, but also durable, reproducible, communicable, and socially active' (Jacob, 2002:41). He considers both maps and libraries to be sites for planned travel or exploration, highlighting correlations within these spaces, and draws a history of the idea of library spaces as 'topographies of memory' (Jacob, 2002:49)

According to Michalko, one of the criticisms levelled at the concept of LIBRARY AS LANDSCAPE is that it is static: 'a landscape represents a perspective, a view, a map' (2000:11). However, this landscape becomes mutable as it may be perceived differently from person to person: Dervin's theory of "sense-making" is an exploratory metaphor that focuses on an individual's movement through an experience; the sense-making moment in the movement is based in the individual's definition 'of situation, the gap, the bridge, and the continuation of the journey after crossing the bridge' (cited in Nitecki, D, 1993:257).

3.8 Metaphors of communication

The idea of the communication of information or ideas is central to the library: Shera described the library as an 'agency of communication' while in 1977, an English librarian J.M. Orr wrote a book entitled *Libraries as communication systems* (Nitecki, 1979:23). More recently, Joseph Nitecki maintained that the two fundamental purposes of the library are 'as a repository of recorded history, and as a communication agent' (1993).

Kennedy, in a consideration of possible metaphors to represent the academic library of the future, suggests the metaphor of conversation to express the way in which the library facilitates the communication of ideas, or conversational exchanges over time (2002). Nitecki, in formulating a metaphorical philosophy of librarianship argues that at the centre of the profession lies 'a communication process involving the concepts, the vehicles carrying the conceptual messages, and their receptors. The essence of communication processes in librarianship is to provide insight into the above symbolic relationships' (Nitecki, 1979:38).

Bechtel presents the idea of conversation as a 'new paradigm for librarianship', arguing that libraries should be viewed as 'centers for conversation and of [librarians] as mediators of and participants in the conversation of the world' (1986:219). McMillen and Hill echo this sentiment as they present the aptness of using the metaphor of conversation to teach research skills within an academic library: 'Libraries historically have been charged with preserving critical conversations of the past (records preservation) and, in that role, with ensuring others' ability to build upon and continue those conversations' (McMillen & Hill, 2005:14).

In a paper for the American Library Association's Office for Information Technology Policy, R. David Lankes, Joanne Silverstein, Scott Nicholson, have also employed the metaphorical concept of the LIBRARY AS CONVERSATION to explore ways in which the library can harness participatory and collaborative Web 2.0 technologies and characteristics such as social networking tools, wikis, 'folksonomies' and 'mashups' - to create a new library model, 'Library 2.0' (2006). Chad and Miller describe the phenomenon of Library 2.0 as follows:

Library 2.0 facilitates and encourages a culture of participation, drawing upon the perspectives and contributions of library staff, technology partners and the wider community... Library 2.0 is about encouraging and enabling a library's community of users to participate, contributing their own views on resources they have used and new ones to which they might wish access. With Library 2.0, a library will continue to develop and deploy the rich descriptive standards of the domain, whilst embracing more participative approaches that encourage interaction with and the formation of communities of interest (2005:10).

Pimental extends this consideration of the metaphorical concept of conversation to classification in the online environment, suggesting that the growth of 'collaboratively created classifications' could result in the connection of 'numerous relevant knowledge-organizing schemes as part of a multi-vocal knowledge-organizing conversation' (2007:6-7).

3.9 Metaphors of ecology and evolution

In his 1931 work *Five Laws of Library Science* (1931), a classic of library science literature, Ranganathan famously declared the library to be a 'growing organism'. MacMenemy, in discussing the continuing relevance of Ranganathan's five laws in the 21st century, cites the exponential growth of library spaces, in both physical and digital realms, and the adaptation of the library 'organism' (as both institution and profession) in response to environmental imperatives, as evidence of the ongoing validity of this metaphor (2007:99-100). This metaphor has logically been encircled by the broader metaphorical concept of ecologies or ecosystems with an ecology being understood to represent a 'system of interdependencies ... the relationships between organisms and their environment' (Tennis, 2002:4).

This model is reflected in Nardi and O'Day's contemporary concept of information ecosystems with shifting interrelationships and interdependencies between information sets and seekers (1999). Nardi and O'Day consider the library to be an information ecology, arguing that the concept of ecologies is evocative and appropriate because it suggests:

- Diversity
- Continual evolution
- Urgency
- Locality

The interdependency of organism and environment was employed by Wijasuriya, Huck-Tee and Nadarajah in their influential 1975 work 'The Barefoot Librarian' to argue the necessity of developing culturally appropriate library services: 'like biological organisms, libraries must be studied in relation to their environment. A study of the ecology of libraries, the way they interact with the physical, social, cultural and economic environment, is crucial towards an understanding of the character, nature and development of... libraries' (cited in Hite, 2006:12). In his substantial presentation of 'Metalibrarianship: a model for intellectual foundations of library information science', Joseph Nitecki traces the historical shifts in the purpose of the library to outline 'an evolutionary development of library mission' (1993). To this end, he employs a metaphor of 'heredity, of the process in which genetic characteristics, transmitted through chromosomes, determine the makeup of an individual, similar to others of the same kind, but with variations resulting from genes' interactions with their environment' (Nitecki, J., 1993).

In keeping with the idea of interdependency, osmosis and symbiosis central to the concept of ecosystems, ecological metaphors are evident in organizations and professions closely aligned to the library. Julia Martin and David Coleman explore the idea of the archive as an ecosystem 'where information and its delivery systems are recognized as dynamic, highly changeable, and inhabited

by humans', focusing on challenges of 'anti-extinction preservation and migratory schemes' in an increasingly digital context (2002). Jensen, an academic publisher, discusses evolution and climate change within the context of what he calls the 'scholarly ecosystem', an ecosystem 'being fundamentally altered by population shifts, by resource availability, and by the huge environmental shifts happening because of the winds of climate change: the Internet and the interconnected world' (2006). He borrows the label 'intelligent design' to describe the role librarians and publishers have played historically in creating a stable 'ecosystem' of quality, centralized in libraries and fixed in the book, and contrasts this with the emergent, increasingly digital 'participatory ecosystem' in which openness, participation and the decentralization of resources are imperative. He calls for increased participation and adaptation by, and between, librarians and publishers so as to encourage not only professional longevity but also the principle of quality in the 'scholarly ecosystem', 'by feeding it constant quality, engaging in the new participatory culture, and thereby helping this new jungle grow not only thickly, but also well' (Jensen, 2006). Michalko concurs, asserting that libraries ought to be pursuing strategies focusing on 'collaboration, adaptation and resource specialization ... seeking mutualism' in order to ensure an ongoing role in the 'new information environment' (2000:10).

Lynch extended the familiar metaphor of landscape used within libraries to include an ecological perspective by suggesting that the landscape is essentially a 'snapshot' of the ecological system, with ecologies being a more useful metaphor because 'they capture much of the dynamic, interdependent evolution and commerce of information creation, management and use, and in particular the roles of autonomous parties within an information life cycle' (as cited in Michalko, 2000:11).

In his discussion of the future of the academic library as a physical entity, Miller uses the metaphor of osmosis within the context of evolution to deflect claims about the death of the library and instead represent the hybrid library model: 'The walls of library buildings are still there, but they are now more like permeable cell walls, with resources flowing in and out on a constant basis. To continue the metaphor, academic libraries continue to be living, growing, and evolving institution' (Miller, 2002).

3.10 Metaphors of sanctuary

The metaphorical concepts of the LIBRARY AS CHURCH and LIBRARY AS FORTRESS both imply an element of sanctuary or safety, which in itself is employed repeatedly as a library metaphor. The religious connotations, as demonstrated in the ALA quotation cited earlier, are unsurprising given the etymological roots of the word 'sanctuary'. The word is derived from the late Latin word 'sanctus' meaning "sacred, holy" (Lambert. 2004). Michael Cart, a strong advocate for

the notion of library-as-sanctuary, equates the socially inclusive refuge offered by the public library to that afforded, at least in theory, by churches: “both are places of peace and of celebration – of the spirit and the intellect” (Cart, 1992:7)

Lambert identifies Chase Dane's 1955 *Wilson Library Bulletin* article, “The library – a modern sanctuary” as an early example of this concept being employed in LIS literature (2004:73). Dane advocated for libraries acting as ‘an oasis of silence in the midst of all the blaring, jarring hubbub of modern society’, ‘an asylum for today's harassed citizen’ (cited in Lambert, 2004:74). Inayatullah revisits this idea over 60 years later in considering possible future roles for the library: she suggests the idea of the library as a ‘place for escape from a chaotic world, e.g. the slow movement: slow time, slow learning – slow everything – as the world quickens and moves to hyper-time and culture, libraries find niches by providing places of quietness and calm’ (Inayatullah, 2007).

Li argues that contemporary libraries have a role to play in creating the physical space for ‘a sanctuary for thinking, reflection and socializing ... not replicable in an online environment’ (2006:371). Cronin concurs: in a *Library journal* column entitled ‘A safe haven’, he asserts that ‘one of the public library's key advantages is the perception that it affords on and all a safe space’ (2001:70). Further, he argues that while discussions of ‘libraries-without-walls’ continue, faculty and library staff and higher educational institutions are recognising the role academic libraries have to play in creating safe social spaces that foster ‘collaborative learning and information interaction’. Stelmaszewska and Blandford's study of computer scientists' behaviour in physical libraries reveals that, while this group often chooses to search catalogues and access library resources remotely, many value physical libraries as ‘places of “sanctuary” where they can find peace to read books and other resources such as journals, magazines, or newspapers, or they can simply work there quietly: as User J remarked, ‘I often sit in them but don't really interact too much with them . . . I might sit in them for a peaceful environment to work in rather than go and use them as the resource’ (2004:85).

Within the context of the school library, Jurkowski employs the terms ‘safe haven’, ‘refuge’, ‘oasis’ and ‘respite’ to describe the role of the library can play as a support system for students with learning, emotional, or social difficulties or troubled family lives. She proposes that school libraries can provide students with the space and freedom to engage in bibliotherapy to explore their problems or access information to support their learning and development beyond the scope of formal education, with the school librarian fulfilling a pastoral or mentoring role (2006). This idea is echoed in Lambert's consideration of ‘The Library as Sanctuary for Inner-City Youth’ (2004) in which she gives examples of youth-focused spaces and programmes in public libraries, aimed at creating a safe, inviting environment in which at-risk young adults can get help with their

homework, career guidance and work experience, access mentoring and social support services, even socialize, listen to music, read youth culture magazines and watch MTV. Some public libraries are operating successfully as sites for the YMCA's National Safe Place programme in the USA where young people can find 'help in gaining shelter from verbal or physical abuse' (2004:100-1). However, Bernier warns that there is a danger in using the term 'safe place' lightly when talking about library services for young adults in that it can reinforce the idea of the library as an entity removed from the community, setting up a 'false dichotomy (safe library/unsafe community)' (2003:198).

Librarians also employ the metaphorical concept of the LIBRARY AS SANCTUARY to represent the idea of intellectual freedom: in an *American Libraries* column entitled 'Sanctuary in libraries', David Isaacson asserts that 'free libraries have always offered intellectual sanctuary to their users' (2004:27). Richard Ford concurs, arguing that libraries both represent and protect freedom by accommodating and preserving diverse, contrary and subversive information: 'The library contains these volatile opposites, holds them, gives them institutional sanction, a safe place, and in doing so cushions them, lets us as a culture hold them safely in our minds as ideas, and of course invites us to decide for ourselves' (1995:40). Nancy Kranich evokes the idea of sanctuary in arguing that libraries are the 'cornerstone of democracy': Libraries are for everyone, everywhere. They provide safe spaces for public dialogue...libraries ensure the freedom to read, to view, to speak, and to participate (2000:5). Idealistic and often reverential in tone, these assertions about the role libraries play in protecting intellectual freedom and democratic values seem to ignore the history of libraries as tools for censorship or even oppression, or the ways in which the sanctuary of the library can be threatened by current legislation undermining rights to privacy such as the Patriot Act in the USA. However, the idea of the library as a sanctuary in which freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom from censorship are protected is significant as a metaphorical concept to which the profession should aspire.

3.11 Metaphors of democracy

The idea of the library as a force for democracy has already been discussed as inferred elements in the metaphorical concept LIBRARY AS SANCTUARY. The idea of the library as a vital partner in the promotion and protection of democratic values is certainly not new, particularly in the USA. According to Battles, 'one of the mottoes of the public library movement that swept Western Europe and America in the nineteenth century went like this: "a book for every person"' (2003:121), a slogan recalling the central premise of democracy, a vote for every person. Berry cites the original mission of the Boston Public Library, written in 1852 as an early example of this role of the public library: 'to inform democracy...to provide the information to ensure that citizens in our democracy could make well-informed decisions on issues on the public agenda' (2006:10). Berry

goes on to express his concern that contemporary public libraries have largely failed to live up to this mission statement and urges the profession to remember the vital role the profession has to play in 'informing democracy ... especially in this era of spin and misinformation' (Berry, 2006:10).

Others do not share this concern, presenting the library's contribution to the advancement of democracy, or even the embodiment thereof, as a fait accompli. Levin, in an article entitled 'The public library as great equalizer'; argues that public libraries may be 'one of the few truly public community venues left in the United States and one ideally suited for "the pursuit of happiness" that Thomas Jefferson envisioned when he, fashioned this phrase for the Declaration of Independence. An opportunity to convene community is part and parcel of the country's claim of providing equality as a right' (Levin, 2000). Tyckoson claims that the 'three basic elements of democracy – that power is derived from the people, that the majority rules, and that rights of the individuals and the principles of social equality should be respected – are part of daily practice in the public library, which is often the single most democratic institution in the community' (2000:40).

In their discussion of Library 2.0, Chad and Miller set in opposition the vocabulary of the fortress and of democracy to represent the movement away from controlled, inaccessible library systems to a more collaborative, participatory approach:

Libraries should be at the heart of the "democratisation of information" - helping to bring down the walls that surround it and enabling greater participation. A major step forward, and a foundation upon which to build, is to bring down the walls around our own systems and our own information (2005:10).

While the message of such articles is inspirational (and aspirational), this complacency is misplaced given the history of the library as a tool for oppression – in the past, Shera noted, the library has often served the interests of monarchic, church, and civil agencies, as a 'handmaiden for power and authority', rather than those of the 'common man' (cited in Nitecki, J., 1993). Librarians colluded with the Nazis, through censoring collections to reflect the values of the Third Reich (Battles, 2003:172-3). Even within the context of modern democracy, Battles names the exclusion of African Americans from public libraries even in the 20th century as an example of libraries preventing people deemed 'unsuited to be readers' from accessing books (Battles, 2003:180-3). Similarly Goldstein observes, in a study of the history of public libraries in Iowa from 1890 to 1940, that:

[a]t the turn of the century the ideal librarian has been a censor and guide who warded off the threat of disorder and change by acquiring only the best books in her library and by directing her patrons to read those works that were best for them. By contrast, around 1940 the ideal

librarian was a proponent of the freedom to read and wide-ranging enquiry, opposed to censorship of all types (2003:231).

Thus, the library's role as well-intentioned censor working as a panacea for the problems of society, (as represented in the medical, educational and religious metaphorical concepts surrounding the library in the late 19th and early 20th century), also seems to have been largely overlooked in the evocation of the library as long-time promoter of democratic values.

A new metaphorical concept suggesting democratic values has emerged in recent years in the LIS literature, that of LIBRARY AS COMMONS. This metaphor draws on the notion of the commons in English history, that is, communal land that could be used freely to pasture animals and grow food from the 16th to the 19th century (Kranich, 2004:10). The term 'commons' has subsequently been employed in a variety of ways, to express the idea of a 'realm that no one can control, that everyone, no matter what his or her status, can lay equal claim to' (Johnson, 1999:5).

These commons can be both tangible, such as parks and other public lands, and intangible, such as cultural resources in the public domain (Bollier, 2002). Commons represents universal rather than limited access, with less emphasis on ownership and control than on use and diversity (Boone, 2003:361). However, as Bollier explains, the commons should not 'be confused with an open-access regime – a free-for-all in which a resource is essentially open to everyone without restriction ... a real commons has a "social infrastructure" of cultural institutions, rules, and traditions and the resources are restricted to personal (non-market) use by the members of the community' (Bollier, 2002).

According to the American Library Association:

Among the other institutions we might see as part of the commons are: museums, archives, and other resource centers; cultural heritage centers; religious organizations; nonprofit and social service organizations; unions; public interest broadcasters; even commercial organizations may play a role in the information commons to the extent that they benefit from and promote access to information outside strict market limits (cited in Kranich, 2004:31).

Many academic libraries have used the labels learning commons, communication commons, information commons and knowledge commons to represent the space in which a range of new technologies can be utilised within the library alongside access to print resources and the support of library staff.

Libraries are quintessential examples of institutional information commons. They embrace, embody, and practice the democratic values that characterize commons. Their mission is to provide communities with open, equitable, sustained access to ideas, and they offer individuals the tools, skills, and spaces necessary to participate in democratic discourse (Kranich, 2004).

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4. Trading the library label

Over three decades ago it was already being argued that the term 'library' may be holding back or inhibiting the adaptability of the institution as it weighs down the profession with a perceived pre-occupation with objects and location rather than people and function (Taylor, 1972). More recent studies within library literature concur, putting forward the idea that libraries are primarily associated with books, perceived as little more than storehouses (Smith, 1998) and as such, the library is becoming an increasingly narrow descriptor for the profession. This has culminated in the frequent replacement of 'library' with 'information' in programme titles at library schools in an attempt to ensure the longevity of a profession in fear of being perceived as irrelevant (McCook, 1997).

At the same time, certain factions within the library community have attempted to lay claim to the newer discipline of 'knowledge management' with assertions that it is nothing more than librarianship dressed up in business speak while Hillenbrand argues that replacing the label 'Library Studies' with 'Information Science' and then 'Knowledge Management' comprises a professional evolution that is reflective of the 'transition from the modern to the postmodern era' (2005).

Day argues that this will to rename the LIS profession is unsurprising and is hardly unique to this context:

Professions are utilitarian institutions and historically have often connected their rhetoric to dominant social institutions, language, and agendas, notably within modernity through the tropes of "management", "efficiency", "systems", and above all, "science" (2000b:470)

This linguistic discarding of the library label has been greeted with some criticism, often emotively charged, from within the profession with words such as 'desertion' being employed (Berry, 1987:4). Tom Wilson, in a critical consideration of the origins and basis of the term, declares knowledge management to be nonsense and cautions LIS professionals against adopting the label uncritically as a means to advance professional status (Wilson, 2002). Hartzell argues that by embracing labels such as 'information centre' and 'information manager', the profession is trading down, surrendering the historical, innate connection the word 'library' has to the educative process (2002:33). However Nardini, in the introduction to his study of American library metaphors evident in the professional literature from 1876 to 1926, points out that this is hardly a new trend:

By selecting the images of engineers, communications centers, and navigators, [librarians have] reached outside of the traditions and vocabulary of the library itself to express a wish to break with the library past. In fact, their choice of words joined them to library tradition, for librarians have long used metaphor and other figurative language to influence how persons within and outside of the field thought about libraries (2001).

However, Day argues that this tendency to adopt uncritically the rhetoric of prevailing political, social, cultural forces can result in a profession losing direction:

Upon the rhetoric of science and progress, professions have often harnessed their sleds, sometimes fairly careless of their destination. And in times of social crisis within the dominant vision, these alliances may appear somewhat perplexing, producing louder and louder utopian claims against a barrage of social evidence to the contrary (Day, 2000b:473).

It is also worth recognising that the expansion of the 'document tradition' evident in the renaming from 'library science' to 'library and information science', 'information management', 'information studies' and so forth, points to the need for a more wide-ranging set of skills within the profession. What challenges does this increased scope present for universities? In living up to the expanded titles of their courses, are they able to provide professional education that is sufficiently broad without being superficial? (Buckland, 1999:972)

5. The library metaphor beyond the LIS profession

And still the library persists. The supposed need to shrug off the library label entirely seems undermined by the frequency with which the term 'library' is being put to use by other professions, that is, as a 'source domain'. Within psychology, the term 'library' has unsurprisingly been used repeatedly as an analogy for human memory. Nematzadeh (n.d.) cites examples of the metaphorical concept of the LIBRARY AS MEMORY being employed by psychology scholars and presents the following correlations between memory functions and library to support this trope:

MEMORY	'Sensory registers'	'Short-term memory'	'Long-term memory'
LIBRARY	'Ordering unit'	'Acquisition unit'	'Cataloguing unit'

Within the field of linguistics, Evert suggests that the 'metaphor of language (defined extensionally) as a gigantic library, with each book corresponding to a language fragment (or corpus), explains how randomness finds its way into any quantitative corpus study' (2006: x).

As part of a study conducted within the heritage industry, museum visitors were asked to come up with a metaphor for a museum as part of an investigation into how people define the place of the museum and the library metaphor was one of the top responses; based on interviews, this was interpreted as indicating both 'a perception of the museum as an information source' and 'a special type of sociality that did not require explicit social interaction. Visitors can have a private, individualized experience yet still be a part of a social, shared place' (Boehner *et al*, 2005). Interestingly, it is not the concept of LIBRARY AS MEMORY being invoked here, despite the fact that both libraries and museums are often referred to as 'memory institutions'.

Within anthropology, it would appear that the term 'library tale' is employed to express an ethnographic form whereby researchers scan the library for sources to supplement field observations (Stewart, 1990:143). While sometimes dismissed as 'armchair anthropology', it is noted that these 'library tales are helpful in the process of "constant comparison"...and of potential disconfirmation of emerging ideas' (Stewart, 1990:147). While no substitute for field research, these 'library tales' can contribute to the ongoing sense-making process that informs primary research by highlighting gaps in knowledge, a seeming serendipity that recalls the act of browsing the library shelves. The philosopher Wittgenstein employed the library metaphor in his *Blue book* to explore the value of a progressive, iterative approach to considering the shifting meaning of 'meaning':

Imagine we had to arrange the books of a library. When we begin the books lie higgledy-piggledy on the floor. Now there would be many ways of sorting them and putting them in their places. One would be to take the books one by one and put each on the shelf in its right place. On the other hand we might take up several books from the floor and put them in a row on a shelf, merely in order to indicate that these books ought to go together in this order. In the course of arranging the library this whole row of books will have to change its place. But it would be wrong to say that therefore putting them together on a shelf was no step towards the final result (cited in Ashok, 2007).

In a study of the 'book of life' metaphor employed frequently in the field of genetics, Hellsten notes that this metaphor has been extended to incorporate the library metaphor within the context of the various phases of the Human Genome Project (2005:295). Hellsten demonstrates the use of this extended metaphorical concept in the communication of genomics by quoting from articles in the publication *New scientist*: 'from 'DNA text' and the 'four-letter biological alphabet' to 'genome as library' and 'chromosomes as books' (2005:290).

In keeping with this extended metaphor, Milosavljevic *et al* refer to 'laboratory book[s] of evolution' within the 'library of life' to represent the fundamental vastness and diversity of genomics, 'the great multitude of genomes across species and populations' (2003:251). They go on to consider the need to employ some sort of information-seeking strategy in order to make use of this library effectively, thus employing this metaphorical concept to suggest a new approach to the work being conducted currently in the field of genomics:

... imagine a reader entering the library of life. Reading a few most important books from cover to cover, such as the books of human, mouse and rat, for example, is a reasonable first step. The initial reading provides a survey and a basic reference for future reading. But after several books have been read, what would be a meaningful strategy for the rest of the library?

One approach would be to simply select books with most interesting titles and skim them from cover to cover. This corresponds to the current strategy, where genomes of individual organisms are prioritized and then sequenced to draft-level. An alternative approach is to index the pages of the books and then do targeted reading of pages and chapters of highest interest ... by applying the CSA™ method. In keeping with our 'library' metaphor, CSA™ method corresponds to the speed reading of chapters of interest.' (Milosavljevic *et al*. 2003:251)

In the last two decades, multiple examples of the library being employed as the source of metaphorical concepts have emerged from the world of information and communication technologies (ICT). Back in 1988, Cisler cited examples of library rhetoric in software development to support the assertion that 'the library is a very powerful metaphor that evokes images of organization, thoroughness, freedom of access, helpfulness and skill at sleuthing out answers' (1988:97). A still common example is evident in the naming of software applications such as Internet Explorer "web browsers", 'a metaphor borrowed from browsing stacks in a library, scanning for the information one needs' (Meyer, 2005:1604).

In 1995, Lim put forward the idea of a 'library metaphor' to explain how records of cached URLs could be indexed and merged to create organisational libraries of useful web pages:

Assuming that the collection of all the referenced URLs by an organization is housed by a specialized library, people in that organization will be able to find many of the needed HTML documents from that library. If each organization maintains such a library, then people from one organization may "visit" the library to find out or learn about the interests of that organization (1995:150).

Thus, this use of the library metaphor hinges on the library being responsible for tracking consistently what information is used within an organisation and making this information available to both internal and external users.

Krechmer employs the library metaphor within the context of the open source and open standards movements to embody the 'value to society of vetted and maintained knowledge, publicly available' and the moderate 'rate of evolution' arguably most acceptable to ensure the ongoing success of these movements (2002:1053). Expanding a comparison of architectural metaphors easily understandable by computer programmers, in which the 'cathedral' represents closed source software, resistant to change, and the 'bazaar' represents open source software, available and adaptable, Krechmer suggests that the metaphor of the public library to represent both open source and open standards is more quickly grasped by non-professionals as being 'available for any user, but changeable only by programmers who understand how to do so' (2002:1054). He then goes on to extend this metaphor in a fairly predictable manner to relate the idea of the public library to that of the internet: 'libraries (e.g., the Internet), as repositories of software programs and technical standards, provide the basic knowledge necessary to trade, operate and communicate. With this new focus, society is learning to identify which programs and technical standards are open and public and what advantages this confers' (2002:1056).

In support of this argument, a number of studies point to the notion that the leading metaphor for the Internet, as identified by the public, is that of a library (The Markle Foundation, 2001; Savolainen & Kari, 2004:222). This is not surprising, given that possibly 'the most predominant adoption of the library as a metaphor in recent years has been taking place in the online environment' (Meyer, 2005:1610). Initially the idea of the 'virtual library' represented a somewhat utopian vision of the World Wide Web operating as a 'multisite, multinational library, containing information on topics from agriculture to zoology, and from all types of information providers, foreign and domestic' (Meyer, 2005:1610). Key assumptions underlying the early adoption of this metaphorical concept included 'the expectation that information on the Internet is free as are books from public libraries and that one's reading habits are a private affair' (Meyer, 2005:1610).

Obviously some of these assumptions have subsequently been questioned and found wanting. Images such as a 'dysfunctional library' and 'a library with the lights turned out' began to emerge, expressing internet searchers impression of the chaotic, disordered state of information access on the World Wide Web (Ratzan, 2000). The absence of the editorial or peer-review processes traditionally associated with print publishing has resulted in inaccurate, unreliable information been made available (Meyer, 2005:1610), thus passing the entire responsibility for quality control over the end user. The actual cost of information is now more evident to the end-user in the online environment than it ever was in the physical library.

One of the more recent responses to these shortcomings evident in the INTERNET as LIBRARY metaphor that draws on library history and practice has been a consideration of how Ranganathan's *Five laws of Library Science* can be applied to the World Wide Web, highlighting issues of access, preservation, and user orientation:

1. Web resources are for use.
2. Every user his or her web resource.
3. Every web resource its user.
4. Save the time of the user.
5. The Web is a growing organism. (Noruzi, 2004)

Recently, there have been references to the idea of INTERNET AS LIBRARY again. However, the current evocation of this metaphorical concept is intended to describe collaborative initiatives such as the Open Content Alliance aimed on creating free online access to digitised materials in the public domain and ensuring digital file preservation through such organisations as the USA-based non-profit The Internet Archive. Founded to create an "Internet library," offering permanent, free access to historical collections in digital, audio, visual, and printed formats, the Internet Archive is known for developing and maintaining the "Wayback Machine", a database which has been archiving web sites for a decade and now contains over 40 billion pages (Bengsten, 2006:3). Thus,

this application of the library metaphor centres on the interlinked ideas of the LIBRARY AS MEMORY and the provision of free access of information. Interestingly, the Internet Archive has recently been awarded status as a library under state law in California, USA which goes some way towards advocating the library metaphor by recognising the historical memory function the library has played in society.

This use of the metaphorical expression 'digital library' should be differentiated from that of the INTERNET AS LIBRARY detailed above. The label 'digital library' has been employed increasingly to represent either the online presence of libraries or organisations following discernable principles of selection criteria, systematic organisation and quality assurance similar to those employed within libraries. The metaphorical concept of the digital library has also been commonly utilised within the context of interface design, particularly as more libraries, particularly academic libraries, began to develop an online presence. The adoption of real-life metaphors in interface development so as to reduce the need for users to learn new navigation frameworks has been advocated (Collinson & Williams, 2004:139), with the 'library' featuring strongly as a metaphorical paradigm. Stelmazewska & Blandford argue that through exploiting 'real-world familiarity' with physical libraries, evoking the layout of the furniture and stacks and the physical appearance of different arenas within the library, provides 'strong (if culturally dependent) cues about the high-level organisation of the library' (2004:90).

Staff at the Mountbatten Library, Southampton Institute chose to recreate the physical library in the online environment in order to provide library users with a different interface – 'the alternative library' to the traditional menu-based library web pages to utilise to explore their digital resources. Partly inspired by computer adventure games, the use of this spatial metaphor mimicking the layout of the actual library – complete with foyer, basement, training room, enquiry desk and private study area - was intended both to accommodate different learning styles of users and to familiarise users with the topography of the physical library (Collinson & Williams, 2004:138-140).

However, the digital library metaphor is not without its critics: Ackerman argues that by using the term 'library' in a technically-orientated context, the social elements and functions of the library are ignored, an oversight that may restrict the 'meaning of the metaphorical referent to that narrow conception' (1994:4). Given the developments in participatory technologies in the last decade and the adoption of these technologies within the LIS community, as embodied in the notion of Library 2.0, this argument is unlikely to continue to carry much weight.

Ultimately, it is worth remembering that the digital library metaphor is aspirational, and as such, it presents a challenge to the LIS profession to live up to the implication of what the label 'library' represents: 'that intellectual property must sometimes be a public good, particularly for educational

purposes, and more generally as a means of providing for equality of opportunity in a society in which access to information (and education) is increasingly important' (Lyman, 1998).

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6. Cross-cultural applicability of library metaphors

The frequency with which the 'library' has been associated with the Internet and the development of metaphor-based computer interfaces bears closer examination, considering the presumption of universality evident in such labels as 'the world's library for the digital age' (Lynch, 1997:52). In Duncker's examination of the efficacy of the metaphor of digital libraries within the cultural context of the Maori population in New Zealand, she concludes that 'beneath the seemingly universal and simple library metaphor lurks a network of assumptions related to objects and relationships in physical libraries. In other words, current digital libraries require the knowledge of Western classification systems and publication formats' (2002:229).

At a broader level, the cross-cultural applicability of Western library models has been questioned extensively in LIS literature. Duncker (2002:226) argues that the silence traditionally associated with the library is anathema to sociable Maori communities. Within the African context, writers such as Serwadda and Broome were already questioning the validity of the adoption of British library practice over four decades ago (Sturges, 2001:42-3), an argument later fleshed out by such commentators as Mchombu and Amadi. If metaphorical concepts are not necessarily culturally transferable, and Western library models are increasingly considered to be inappropriate for Africa, what are the implications for the ways in which metaphor has been employed to represent the library within the African context?

6.1 Metaphors of poverty

The metaphorical concept of deficiency within African library services was clearly articulated by Kingo Mchombu in his seminal article "On the librarianship of poverty", in which he argued poverty rather than affluence should be the central issue informing the development of information services in Africa (1982:241). In an article revisiting Mchombu's argument 20 years' on, Sturges extends this metaphor to talk about the legacy of the 'poverty of fresh ideas' (2001:38) in African librarianship, asserting that 'conventional librarianship has offered illusions to the librarians of Anglophone Africa, but its poverty as a paradigm for information service in Africa has been proven by the test of time' (2001:47).

This metaphorical concept of deprivation has of course become commonplace in the expressions of 'information rich' and 'information poor', first suggested by Childers within the context of community information provision in America (Alemna, 1995:40), but now ubiquitous in commentary on African libraries. This dichotomy between the 'information rich' and the 'information poor' is usually discussed neatly in terms of the wealthy developed world in contrast with the impoverished

developing world. However, it is worth remembering that, according to Sturges and Neill, 'Africa can be characterized as positively information-rich. Its citizens possess an adaptable oral mode of information transfer which is deeply embedded in the social and psychological make-up of the people themselves' (1998:12).

6.2 Metaphors of hunger and nourishment

Within the context of widespread poverty across a largely agrarian continent, it is unsurprising to encounter descriptions of African librarianship that employ the vocabulary of nourishment as a source for metaphorical concepts, evident in such common place expressions as 'thirst for knowledge', 'information hunger', 'information starved' and 'book famine'. In the title of their conference paper 'From food silos to community kitchens – retooling African libraries' (2006), Du Plessis, Britz and Lor pair the idea of access to food with access to information. This is simply a recent iteration of a well-established trope, examples of which include Barker and Excarpit's work *The Book Hunger*, on librarianship in the developing world (cited in Amadi, 1980:50) and Crowder's 1986 paper 'The book crisis: Africa's other famine' (cited in Sturges & Neill, 1998:5). US-based charity Books for Africa employ emotive images of hunger to persuade people to support their book donation programme: 'When the books arrive, they go to those who need them most: children who are hungry to read, hungry to learn, hungry to explore the world in ways that only books make possible' (cited in Hite, 2006:8). This is a (mostly likely unwitting) echo of the nineteenth century metaphor evident in library literature of 'reading as eating' suggesting that 'the real content of a book is a thing that can be swallowed and will have predictable effects on a reader' (Nitecki, J., 1993).

This trope is not only employed to express the basic lack of quantifiable information sources in Africa. Sturges and Neill maintain that the lack of information sources suggested by the expressions of 'food shortages' is not only a result of the poverty evident throughout much of Africa, but also refers to the 'propensity of African governments to suppress information' (1998:6), that is, withhold food. Interestingly, Mchombu discusses the failure of African librarians to rise to the challenge of developing information services that meet the needs of local communities in terms of nourishment: 'African libraries have found it very difficult to stoop and draw nourishment from their own people, and in turn to enrich their environment' (1991:522).

According to Sturges and Neill, 'an Ndebele phrase for library is "tsiphala solwazi", which translates directly as "granary of knowledge"' (1998:186). This phrase recalls the traditional Western imagery of the library as a storehouse but with an agricultural suggestion of nourishment, both existing and potential: 'the granary not only provides a supply of nourishment for the coming years, but it contains seed corn for future crops. It is a store in the most positive sense' (Sturges & Neill,

1998:187). Other writers do not focus on this aspect of potentiality for growth within this metaphorical concept: in his keynote address at SCECSAL 2006, Mchombu talks of 'silos for hoarding knowledge', echoing the image of the fortress historically employed to describe libraries in the West (2006:24).

6.3 Metaphors of conversation and community

Central to most discussions of the need for a different paradigm to shape the development of information services in Africa is the tradition of oral literacy across the continent. The oral tradition in African society revolves around the exchange of information through the spoken word in a number of settings, with people in the community being the primary source of information. This is expressed in the metaphorical concept of the 'library as a person', articulated by Amadi as follows:

the devastation of a library by fire or similar causes in the Western world is only comparable in intensity to the loss, through death, of an old man in Africa. The latter, like the former, is the veritable embodiment of an archive of a proto-library – a library without shelves (Amadi, 1981:140).

This idea of the human library is also evident in Bengé's reference to the information dissemination functions of the village poets or *griots* in pre-colonial Africa (1996:171). It is through 'human repositories' that the historical, environmental, spiritual, agricultural and medical knowledge of a community is passed from generation to generation, particularly in rural communities (Alemna, 1995:42).

This is counterintuitive to the print-based culture of the West, in which books and other written artifacts are used to acquire new information, usually through silent, solitary study. In contrast, 'among most of Africa's peoples the reading tradition is poorly developed: most Africans prefer oral to written communication. Sitting down in a quiet place by oneself to read can be regarded as antisocial behaviour' (Lor, 2000:216). It is therefore unsurprising that the binary opposites 'silence / noise' should feature within library metaphors in Africa. Durrani, drawing on his extensive experience in libraries in Kenya, uses the traditional 'Silence in the library' regulation to challenge African librarianship to stop denying, and start addressing, the disconnect between current library provision and community information needs (2006:41-2). Du Plessis, Britz and Lor concur, arguing that 'the library in Africa...has to give way to noise', discarding the legacy of the silent 'cathedral' and replacing it with the vocal 'bazaar' model for the exchange of knowledge (2006:524). Sturges and Neill chose to call their comprehensive work on African libraries *The quiet struggle* (1998), in part to express the lack of 'noise' surrounding the problems of information access across the continent (1998:2).

In Francophone Africa, many libraries are now staffed by 'animators' rather than 'library officers' (Weber, 2006:5). This idea of the 'information animator' expresses the role information professionals could play both in bringing to life the printed word, translating information from one medium into another, and in the repackaging of traditional oral content in print and audiovisual formats. Thus, 'the messages of oral society would be made open to a wider audience, and the voice of the underprivileged made audible outside the immediate community' (Sturges & Neill, 1998:203).

According to Amadi, 'most African languages have only an indigenous transliteration of the term "library", resulting in a majority of cases, in the phrase: "a house of books". Often, the distinction between the words "school" and "library", as in the Ibo –uno-akwukwo becomes too fine to make any major impact' (1981:221). This explanation goes a long way towards explaining the replacement of the word 'library' with such phrases as 'community information centre', descriptors more evocative of both the centrality of the community, and the prioritization of information sources other than the printed word in information dissemination within the African context. The idea of 'barefoot librarianship', borrowed from the South East Asian context (Amadi, 1981:205), appears frequently in library literature about Africa. It would appear that, within the African context, this expression is not intended to summon images of poverty (Onwubiko, 1996:39) but rather to capture the idea of a grassroots field worker, comfortable in the community, committed to facilitating the recording and dissemination of locally generated information.

6.4 Metaphors of colonisation, imperialism and oppression

In his polemical 1981 work *African libraries: Western tradition and colonial brainwashing*, Amadi makes use of the vocabulary of power and oppression to argue that the original development of libraries in Africa, largely by colonial forces, has resulted in information services in which foreign print-based information sources expressing the Western world view are central, thus suppressing indigenous oral-based knowledge sources: 'Library colonialism or the domination of Africans by Western nations through the use of information power remains one of the most hidden but deadly instruments of neo-colonialism' (Amadi, 1981:164).

The following year, Kagan also used the label "library colonisation" to describe the development and use of libraries by European colonial forces in Africa as part of a broader promotion of European cultures and languages (Kagan, 1982:17). Given this history of using the library as a mouthpiece for colonial propaganda, it comes as no surprise that the library is sometimes considered to be untrustworthy. In the context of oppressive apartheid South Africa, there was

'widespread distrust of the written word' largely because counter-revolutionary misinformation was distributed by the government in print form' (Sturges & Neill, 1998:134).

This metaphorical concept contains not only the idea of the library being, to quote Sturges, an 'alien implant' brought by colonisers but also that of dichotomies of strength / weakness, knowledge / ignorance, subjugation / liberation. Durrani (2006) employs the terms 'information liberation', 'African activist' and the idea of a "'liberating the mind" / "kuvunja minyororo" (literally, to break the chains) partnerships to express his ideas about how African librarianship should politicise information services, rather than follow 'blindly the "Western" model of public library services which actively seeks to remove politics from information theories and practices' (2006:58-61).

6.5 Metaphors of pollution

This imposition of information foreign to the African context is also reflected in metaphors of pollution, rife in discussions about the value of book donation programmes and their 'gifts' of information sources inappropriate to the information needs of most people in Africa in terms of form, content, language and relevance. It has been argued that these 'generous donations' often comprising unwanted or surplus discards have actually damaged the information landscape of Africa (Rosi, 2005:17). Weber argues that the 'lack of books in developing countries does not justify massive dumping of unused books' (Weber, 2006:5). Curry asserts that 'donor countries need to shift from facilitating the dumping of unwanted materials, such as surplus print runs, to supporting indigenous publishing' (Curry, 2002).

Obadiah Moyo points out that '[m]ost rural communities have become dumping grounds for any rubbish which occupies space in urban centres. It is sad to note that this rubbish also includes some reading materials which are useless to the lives of rural citizens' (cited in Sturges & Neill, 1998:98). Arguably this type of dumping could be regarded as toxic waste, contaminating libraries with out-of-date information that not only makes it very difficult for library users to find useful information in amongst the rubbish but may be detrimental if applied. Metaphors of pollution are also used to describe the role misinformation can play in derailing democratic processes. Within a discussion of libraries and democracy, Mohammed M. Aman talks about 'information pollution from within and without' to describe one of the barriers to the flow of information to support democratic processes (2006:91).

6.6 Metaphors of medicine and health

Albright, Kaooya and Hoff employ the phrase 'information vaccine' as the title of their conference paper describing the way in which Uganda disseminated HIV/AIDS information at a national level to bring about a reduction in its rates of HIV/AIDS at a national level (2006). Sturges & Neill employs the concept of surgery to suggest the boldness required to develop a new paradigm for African librarianship: 'the tendency is to put sticking plaster on wounds that require surgery. The contemplation of surgical solutions is frightening, but should not be avoided if a patient is to become fully healthy' (2004:136).

Amadi uses the expression 'psychological allergy' to describe many Africans' aversion to the printed word (1981:221) and Rosi employs a medical trope in discussing the value of book donation programmes:

Like medication, book donations can do a lot of good. However, they cannot be established in a healthy economic context as a permanent practice. Like medication, the donation can help cure, but only if it is perfectly suited to the beneficiary and taken advisedly at the specified time, in a fitting context and in the right quantity (2005:14).

7 Finding meaning in the metaphors

All metaphors break down somewhere. That is the beauty of it. It is touch and go with the metaphor, and until you have lived with it long enough you don't know when it is going. You don't know how much you can get out of it and when it will cease to yield. It is a very living thing. It is as life itself.

Robert Frost (cited in Nardini, 2001)

How does the range of tropes associated with the library reflect its evolving and multifarious role and function through history? Do these metaphors retain validity or have some served their purpose in reflecting a stage in the history of the library?

In both literary and internal professional representations of the library reviewed, a critical awareness of the library's historical ability to hoard and control access to information is clearly represented by the images of churches, fortresses and prisons, surveillance and in its most extreme form, the library as censor, governmental or religious, able to alter or destroy the human record without recourse. These images highlight the fact that although the maxim 'knowledge is power' has become a regular feature in contemporary discussions of the information society and the knowledge economy, the control of information has been associated with privilege and power throughout history. Metaphorical expressions of the library as a site for searching, for exploration, (even adventure) sit in opposition to earlier custodial images, and highlight increasingly the ideas of the exponential growth in information sources (first printed, then digital) and associated concerns about disorientating information overload.

The emergence of the socially orientated medical and educational professions within the metaphorical discourse of the library reflected the shift in the focus in society at the time from the individual to a society: 'the concept of the 'social library', introduced by Benjamin Franklin in the 18th century was based on society's belief in self-education of its patrons' (Nitecki, J. 1993). While the movement for public libraries to combat social exclusion with the aim of providing access to all was erratic (see Muddiman, 2000), the social orientation of the profession continues, as expressed in current educative and societal library metaphors.

In contrast, what common themes can be identified in the use of the library as a target within metaphors generated by other professions and in other arenas? Predictably, issues surrounding the ongoing preservation of history and memory recur. A respect for the history of developing systems of the organization of information is also evident in both public and professional perceptions of the library, as is the expectation that libraries should facilitate free access to quality

information. The recognition of the library as a shared social space is also a theme but, in my opinions, the strongest thread to be read in the non-literary *etic* metaphorical representations seems to be concerned with the library as a partner or mechanism in the process of constructing meaning.

And how easily can these metaphorical concepts be mapped cross-culturally? Despite the fact that the modern library system in sub-Saharan Africa is largely based on Western library models, the metaphorical concepts identified are localized, revolving largely around the vocabulary of struggle and survival – poverty, hunger and health – with closer proximity to the land and local communities implicit in expressions. Those metaphors with Western equivalents are adapted to reflect African information concerns - the LIBRARY AS INFERNO concept is referenced in the idea that when an African dies, a library burns and represents concerns over the preservation of African knowledge and history embedded in the oral tradition. There is also a more aggressive focus on the politics of information and civic engagement evident in the literature of African librarianship, no doubt informed by the political climate and rhetoric of the continent. But it is the focus on community and communication that offers opportunity for the development of common, rather than oppositional, space in the international library

7.1 The preservation of the human record(s)

Within this context of censorship and control, concern for the preservation of the human record, represented by the images of memory and history becomes paramount. The metaphorical concept LIBRARY AS MEMORY is one of the most consistent of the metaphors uncovered, entrenched in both internal and external conceptions of the library from antiquity to the present day. Primarily this trope seems to highlight concerns over whether the human record is being preserved accurately and comprehensively, without alteration, for free use by future generations.

While it seems largely acknowledged that the library, as an institution, exhibits the necessary expertise in preservation, questions about whether all histories are in fact being recorded and preserved (as seen in the oral information environment in Africa) and if the shifting and impermanent digital information environment is being regularly captured for later retrieval. Interestingly, this trope is used optimistically in the fictional examples cited when expressing a subversive, grassroots initiative to contribute directly to this preservation process. Arguably, this will for participation and ownership at the community level is becoming more prevalent in contemporary library models to ensure that efforts are being made to preserve diversity and inclusivity in the human record(s).

7.2 Knowledge is power

'You promise to begin restoring man's control over nature. But who will govern the use of the power to control natural forces? Who will use it? To what end? Such decisions can still be made. But if you and your group don't make them now, others will soon make them for you. Mankind will profit, you say. By whose sufferance? The sufferance of a prince who signs his letters X? (Miller, cited in Spencer, 340)

Arguably, the idea of 'knowledge is power' can be read as an expression of the idea that if information can be controlled and manipulated without recourse, you can manufacture and impose a complete, fixed picture of the world. As Spencer observes in her consideration of fictional 'post-apocalyptic' libraries, that 'power becomes unbreachable if textual knowledge is monolithic' (Spencer, 1991:333). It can be said that the metaphorical concepts of the library as universe, holy place, fortress, censor and spy can all be interpreted as images of the ways in which information can be used or withheld to assert power over others.

In this context, the LIBRARY AS INFERNO can be interpreted as the will to suppress or destroy a dissident voice or world view, as is evident in examples of 'cultural arson' through the destruction of libraries throughout history (Brand, 1999:56). Or, as in *Titus Groan*, the fire can represent an attack on the privilege embodied in the private library. Within the African context, the representation of libraries as forces for imperialism and colonialism is an obvious expression of the imbalance of power being reinforced by control over information. Metaphors of poverty can also be interpreted within this paradigm as being poor is all too often synonymous with being powerless, especially when one's primary source of wealth – oral knowledge – has no value in a print-dominated economy.

7.3 The tension between order and disorder

I have never doubted the truth of signs, Adso; they are the only things man has with which to orientate himself in the world. What I did not understand was the relation among signs...I behaved stubbornly, pursuing a semblance of order, when I should have known well that there is no order in the universe (Eco, 1983:492)

The universal all-embracing 'meta-narrative' of positivism (Hillenbrand, 2005) pervades metaphorical representations of the library. The image of the LIBRARY AS HOLY PLACE has been evoked to represent the way in which the library has demonstrate and promoted faith 'in the existence of a scientifically derived and classifiable body of knowledge' (Garrett, 1991:382) while the (ultimately unachievable) human quest for a measurable, controllable, ordered world in which

to live is clearly referenced in the metaphorical concept of the LIBRARY AS UNIVERSE, particularly as evidenced in the principles of universal bibliography.

Dervin and Nilan assert that 'a "major tension" exists between predominantly positivist conceptions and the behaviours that users and systems display in practice' (cited in Radford, 1992:413). This tension can be considered in terms of the order represented by the library and the disorder threatened by the user, a tension that is clearly evident in the metaphorical concepts of the LIBRARY AS SPY, LIBRARY AS POLICEMAN and LIBRARY AS PRISON. As order topples into disorder, the disorientation and confusion that amount to information overload can be read in the metaphorical concepts of LIBRARY AS LABYRINTH and the LIBRARY AS POISON.

This tension between order and disorder can also be discerned in those metaphors that represent the idea of social inclusion and upliftment, largely prevalent in public library discourse in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Metaphorically speaking, the library 'functioned' as teacher, healer, converter and censor largely to bring order to the unruly, immoral masses through the provision of carefully selected reading materials to reinforce the order of the day. It could be argued early images borrowed from industry were employed to guard against the disorder that comes with idleness, or the undirected accumulation of information, in the working class.

7.4 The search for certainty

The search for information is clearly represented in the metaphorical concepts as LIBRARY AS UNIVERSE and LIBRARY AS LABYRINTH as well as in those geographical and cartographic expressions evident in the library literature. The idea of 'voyages of discovery' in the library, exploring the world of information in search of answers is a predictable trope given both the history and the teleological nature of humankind.

Radford asserts that '[f]or both positivism and the library, the dominant metaphor is that of "the search". In positivist science, the search is for underlying structures that comprise the truth of the natural world. In the library, the search is among structures for a truth that will alleviate a specific "information need"' (Radford, 1998). But the metaphor of the search in the library seems to be evolving beyond the reach of the positivist paradigm. Joseph Nitecki refers to the unrelenting human quest for understanding as 'a unifying principle in all interpretations of reality', motivated by the will 'to remove uncertainty created by gaps in our knowledge of reality, or a need to be assured or reassured that our understanding is valid' (1993). Thus, this search is a continuous, constant feature of information-seeking behaviour in the library: this instinctive human drive to understand remains unchanged even in the face of constantly altering environments and shifting relationships within those environments. This fluidity of information landscapes to be navigated and the

interdependency of the constituent 'organisms' within these landscapes is captured in the metaphorical concept of information ecologies.

Eco himself identifies three kinds of labyrinths that, in some sense, trace this progression from the notion of fixed truths through modern empirical conjecture to postmodern fragmentation and relativity:

- 'The unicursal labyrinth of antiquity [that] always led to the center or 'goal' – and then, hopefully, to the exit...
- The "mannerist" or multicursal maze, a model of the trial and error process, in which paths branch off at every intersection...
- The "rhizome" maze of criss-crossing paths, in which boundaries themselves shift from one moment to the next' (cited in Garrett, 1991:376)

Garrett applies Eco's taxonomy of labyrinths to the "fundamental shift in information-seeking behaviour" evident in the rhizome network of the contemporary library, in which library users explore the 'multiple paths' of the library-labyrinth:

Our (post)modern library, like the oeuvre of Jorge Luis Borges (in the words of Gerard Genette), 'does not have a ready-made sense, a revelation to which we must submit: it is a reservoir of forms which await their meaning, it is the *imminence of a revelation that does not take place*, and which everyone must produce for himself (Garrett, 1991:377).

7.5 The library as a space for the negotiation of meaning

Against this backdrop of metaphorical expressions of frustration with the positivist paradigm in the library, balanced with the persistent will to search for meaning, it is those metaphorical concepts symbolizing ongoing adaptability and exchange in a secure social space that seem to come together to suggest new directions for the library. Whilst some are not new to library literature, it is the possibility for (intertextual) intersection between these concepts that suggest the future of the library in providing a secure space for the ongoing personal and interpersonal negotiation of meaning.

Ecological and evolutionary metaphors, by definition, presume environmental sensitivity and adaptation and development through ongoing interaction and participation. The metaphorical concept of LIBRARY AS CONVERSATION represents the ongoing process of the creation and re-creation of meaning through communication in a context of format diversity where print is not necessarily king while LIBRARY AS SANCTUARY suggests the idea of a safe, trustworthy space (physical or virtual) in which conduct these conversations. Metaphors of democracy could be considered to represent the idea that civic freedom and responsibility will inform the tone of this

space and the conversations conducted within it, ensuring relative freedom from censorship while geographical metaphors conjure images of exploration of the library space, coupled with the concept of mapping one's own experience.

I hesitate to write of conclusions in this relativist discursive setting, but it seems rather serendipitous that, in a paper considering the role of metaphors in the library, this final point should centre on the act of negotiating meaning. However, if one considers the role metaphors play in creating and communicating meaning in conjunction with the idea that library has increasingly been employed as a metaphor suggesting the process of meaning construction (and deconstruction), it would seem that the meanings of library and metaphor, as Joseph Nitecki (1979) suggested, are to a certain extent interdependent. In which case, the logical consequence of this exploration, the end /start of this discussion, is embodied in the title – LIBRARY :METAPHOR.

University of Cape Town

APPENDIX:

Methodological note:

Given the constraints to the study of metaphor outlined previously, this research cannot hope to arrive at an exhaustive list of library metaphors. As with D. Nitecki's exploratory study of conceptual models of libraries evident in the *Chronicle of higher education*, there is the fundamental limitation of analysing language as a way to understand viewpoint (1993:267). The literature review was limited to works written in, or translated into English and attempts to exclude unthoughtful or rhetorical usages of the term 'library'.

A review of LIS literature was undertaken to identify examples of metaphorical representation of libraries. Data from the professional literature was collected through online searching of databases using the search string ('librar* AND metaphor*) and "Library as". This was supplemented by selected references discovered by following citation trails and simply by serendipity. Sources likely to reveal metaphorical conceptions of 'library' in the African context, such as IFLA and SCECSAL conference proceedings, were examined in the consideration of the cross-cultural applicability of library metaphors.

This was supplemented by searching on Google Scholar and non-library specific databases including Academic Search Premier, Infotrac Onefile, JSTOR, Web of Science, to identify examples of the term 'library' being used metaphorically within other disciplines using the search string ('librar* AND metaphor*) OR "as library" OR "library metaphor".

Fictional representations of both libraries and librarians were drawn from novellas, extracts and short stories collected in library-themed anthologies and novels identified within LIS literature as featuring substantial, critical representations of libraries and / or librarians. As there are a number of works that feature libraries or librarians in some shape or form, the 'degree of "literariness" evident in the work (Walsh, 1987:212), the consistency of metaphorical representations and, to a certain extent, personal preference came into play when selecting works for inclusion.

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University of Cape Town